

THE

Vol. 31. 28

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Tragical History
OF THE
STUARTS.
FROM

The First Rise of that Family, in
the Year 1086. down to the Death of
Her Late Majesty Queen *MARY*, of
Blessed Memory.

By *D. JONES*, Gent.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year, 1697.

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O F T H E

S T U A R T S.

IN the Reign of *Duncane*, King of *Scotland*, who came to the Possession of the *Scotish* Crown upon the decease of his Uncle *Milcolin* in the Year 1040. while one *Bancho*, *Thane* of *Lochquaber* (from whom the *Stuarts* descended) was gathering the King's Revenues, within the bounds of his own Jurisdiction, and withal somewhat severely punishing such as he found to be notorious Offenders; it caused a Mutiny in the Country, and so a Conspiracy was formed against *Bancho*, by a parcel of Riotous and Lawless Fellows, who first spoil'd his Goods, and then assaulted his Person, giving him

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many dangerous Wounds, so that he had much ado to escape with his Life: But as soon as he found himself a little recover'd, and in a condition to travel, he determined to repair to the Court, in order to require Satisfaction for the Damages he had sustained; where, after he had made Complaint to the King of the same, and of the Indignities that had been offer'd to him, he at length prevail'd to have an Herald sent to the Offenders, to cite them to make their personal Appearance, for to answer to such Matters as should be laid to their Charge: But they, instead of complying with the Summons, entertain'd the Messenger first with all manner of Reproaches; and when they had as despitely used him, both in Words and Actions, as they could, slew him out-right; and so entering into a Confederacy with their Friends and Kinsfolks, as expecting to be call'd to a severe Account by an Armed Power from the King, they chose one *Mackdo-*
wald for their Captain, who readily enough embraced the Command, and shortly after routed some Troops, sent against them, under the Conduct of a Nobleman, whom they took Prisoner, and afterwards slew, with which Success they were not a little elated and flushed.

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Hereupon the King call'd a Council, to consult what to do, among whom, *Mackbeth* (so famed upon the Stage) was one; who exclaiming much against the Precariousness of the Government, and the mistaken Lenity of the King towards notorious Offenders, did notwithstanding promise, that if they were pleased to leave that Affair to his and *Bancho's* Management, he did not doubt but in a very short time to give a good account of the Rebels: Hereupon he and *Bancho* were joyn'd in Commission to go against them, and in some time set out with a Body of Men towards *Lochquaber*; The same of whose Approach struck the Enemy with such a panick Fear, that they dispersed in great Numbers, leaving their Captain *Mackdonald* almost destitute, who notwithstanding with the small Remains he had left with him, adventurously gave them Battle; but being routed, he fled for Refuge to an adjacent Castle; and finding himself environn'd by his Enemies on all sides, and no way left for his Escape, he first slew his Wife and Children, and then laid violent Hands upon himself, to prevent, as he dreaded, a severer Punishment.

This Rebellion being thus happily suppressed by the good Conduct and Management of *Mackbeth* and *Bancho*, another more dangerous Storm did upon the

Neck of it, threaten Scotland; for *Sveno*, King of *Norway*, landed at *Fife*, with a puissant Army, designing no less than to make an entire Conquest of the Kingdom of Scotland: *Duncane*, to obviate as much as might be the Intentions of the Enemy, raises Forces with utmost Diligence, and next to himself entrusted the Command of them with the two aforesaid Chieftains, *Mackbeth* and *Bancho*; who had but a little while before done him signal Service against his Rebellious Subjects. Near *Calrose* the two Armies engaged, and fought for a considerable time, with incredible obstinacy, but at last the *Danes* prevailed, and the *Scots* were totally routed, and *Duncane* fled to the Castle of *Bertha*, which *Sveno* laid close siege to forthwith: *Mackbeth* in the mean time rallies and raises more Forces, to whom the King, by the Advice of *Bancho*, sent word, that he should not march to his Relief till he had further Orders: The King in the interim entertains a feigned Treaty of Surrender with *Sveno*, and to elude the Matter yet further, sent his Army, as a Donative, some Provisions of Ale and Bread out of the Castle, but had first mixt both with the Juice of Banewort, a noxious Herb; which did so intoxicate the *Danish* Soldiers, who feasted greedily thereon, that they generally fell all fast asleep; upon which *Mackbeth* had

Orders

Orders sent him to march up without delay, and fall upon them, which he did with that success, that the whole Army was slain, save the King, and about ten Men more, who with great difficulty fled to their Ships. But the Rejoycings made for this Victory were scarce cold, when another *Danish* Army, sent by *Canutus*, to the assistance of *Sveno*, landed at *King-corn*, which were also encountred by *Mackbeth* and *Bancho*, and utterly routed.

Some time after this, as *Buchanan*, *Rochims*, and other *Scotch* Writers relate, tho' in a different manner, As *Mackbeth* and *Bancho*, without any other Company, were agoing to a place called *Fores*, where the King then resided; it fortun'd that they met three Women upon the Road of a very strange Aspect and Habit; one of them saluted *Mackbeth*, Thane of *Angus*, another of *Murrey*, and the third King, of *Scotland*; with which kind of Salutation they were both very much surpriz'd, and *Bancho* said to the Women, why so unkind to me, as to bestow nothing upon me, when you have assigned to my Companion not only high Preferments, but even the Kingdom of *Scotland*: Nay, but reply'd the first of them, we have greater Favours in store for thee; he shall reign indeed but with an unhappy end, and leave none of his Posterity to inherit the Crown; but of thee shall those be

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born who shall govern the Scotch Nation by a long Succession of continued descent: And this I take to be the Ground of Dr. Heylin's saying in his Scotia, that it was strangely foretold this Bancho, above three hundred Years before it began to be fulfill'd; that he indeed should not be King, but that out of his Loyns should come a Race of Kings, that should for ever rule Scotland.

This Apparition, for so it was afterwards interpreted, made at first no great Impressions on the Spirits, either of the one or the other, so as that they made no other use of it than to jear one another ever and anon therewith; *Bancho* frequently calling *Mackbeth*, by way of ridicule, *King of Scotland*, and the other as often entertaining him with the Appellation of *Father of many Kings*; till such time, which happened not long after, that the *Thane* of one of the foresaid places being condemned and executed for Treason, *Mackbeth* was bountifully invested by the King in all his Lands, Livings and Offices; which being interpreted by him as a favourable Prelage, and as it were a *Preludium* towards the Accomplishment of the foresaid Prediction concerning him, it raised his Hopes mightily; and he begins to set all his Wits on work, and to imploy all his Engines, among whom *Bancho* was chief, who gave him all the Assistance

stance he could in his bloody Designs, for to attain to the Crown; which not long after, by a barbarous Parricide (for a good King is Father of his Country) he accomplish'd, having slain the King at *Inverness*, or (as others write) at *Borgofvane*, in the sixth Year of his Reign, and so was forthwith crowned at *Scone*.

Mackbeth, to ingratiate himself with the People, without which, no Government, tho' never so just, can long subsist, gets several good and wholesome Laws enacted for the publick Weal; But this was an effect rather of Policy, than any natural Disposition and good Genius in him, as did afterwards appear; and as Tyrants are always uneasie, he was never without dreadful Apprehensions that he should be served the same sawce himself, as he had done by his Predecessor, and the Prediction foremention'd did not a little contribute thereunto, especially that part of it that referr'd to the posterity of *Bancho's* attaining in time to the possession of the Diadem. And as nothing is more terrible to a wicked Usurper than the Thoughts of a Successor, especially without his own Line; former Confederacies, for the attainment of the Supream Power, being now disregarded, and quite effaced with the Cares to secure it; for indeed there is but little Faithfulness to be expected from Associates in Villany, be their mutual

tual Engagements never so solemn; he makes it his whole business to cut off *Bancho*, who had been so instrumental to advance him (the very Practice of *Richard* the III. toward *Henry Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*) and therefore, in order to put his projected Design in execution, he invites him, together with his Son *Fleance*, to a supper, which he had prepared for them. They suspecting no Treachery in the matter, made no scruple to come, and feasted merrily; and when all was over, prepared to return to their own Lodgings, but they were on their way thither, without the Pallace-Gates, to prevent the suspicion of the King's having any Hand in it, assaulted by several Kussians, whom he had hired for that purpose, who slew the Father outright; But the Son, thro' the favour of the dark Night, happily escaped; and being sensible of the danger he was in if he stay'd in *Scotland*, from the Jealousie and Malice of *Mackbeth*, who, he was now fully satisfied, had contrived the Murder of his Father, tho' the other endeavour'd all he could to suppress it, and make appear it was only a matter of chance, he fled into *Wales*.

He had not been there long, but that he grew into great Favour and Esteem with *Trabern*, Prince of that part of the Country, call'd *Northwales*, but into far greater Intimacy, and even to an unlaw-
ful

ful Familiarity with his Daughter, so as that she was got with Child by him; which at length coming to the Ears of her Father, he was so enraged with the Dishonour done to his Family by this Fugitive, and so sensibly touch'd with his Violation of the Rules of Hospitality, that nothing less would satisfy him than his Blood, and so he slew him. The Daughter he also severely used, who was at last brought to Bed of a Son, whom they named *Walter*; who, tho' but meanly Educated by his Grandfather's Commandment, did notwithstanding prove to be a Person of high Resolution, and expert in Business.

This *Walter* having on a time happen'd to fall out with one of his Companions, occasion'd chiefly by the other's reproaching of him, with his illegitimacy, and calling him Bastard; he became so enraged thereat, that he flew upon him, and slew him outright: But vethinking himself immediately of what he had done, with the great danger he was in, if he stay'd any longer in the Country, he resolv'd to flee, and make the best of his way for *Scotland*, his Father's native Country; where he had not long arrived, but he happen'd into the Company of some *English* Gentlemen, come thither to attend Queen *Margaret*, Wife to *Milcolm*, King of *Scotland*, and Sister to *Edgar Atheline*, Kinsman, and
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(right Heir to *Edward* the Confessor) and behaved himself so orderly, and with such a winning Conversation, that he became highly esteem'd of them. This by degrees made way for him to attain the King's favour, who entertain'd so good an Opinion of him, that when in some time after, Tumults and some popular Disorders had happen'd in the parts about *Galloway*, and the adjacent Islands, he thought fit to entrust him with the Care of that Affair; and *Walter* was so successful in his Enterprize, that he quickly suppress'd the Disorders, slew the Captain and Ringleaders of those Commotions, and reduced that part of the Country into a very good *Decorum* and Order.

I do not find the King ever restor'd him to the Inheritance of his Grandfather *Bancho*, and the Thaneship of *Loch-quaber*; but however it was, he was so far satisfied with his Conduct, and so fully sensible of the Service he had done him, that he bestowed a new Dignity upon him, which was that of Steward of *Scotland*. This was an *English* term, and the *English* frequenting that Kingdom so much at that time, by reason of their Concourse to, and Attendance upon Queen *Margaret*, together with some other concurring Accidents, might be the occasion of the Introduction of it. It was no doubt a considerable power he was entrusted with,
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by virtue of this new Office, but I do not think it much different, as to the nature of it, but only in respect to its extent, from that of *Thane*; which Term and Office annex to it, because so often mention'd already, and may perhaps more hereafter, I shall endeavour a little to explicate, and I hope the Reader will think it no impertinent Digression.

Thane therefore is derived by some from the old *Saxon* word *Thegn*, which cometh of *Thenian*, i. e. *Ministrare alicui*, and made to signifie sometime a Nobleman, sometime a Freeman; another while a Magistrate, and sometime an Officer or Minister; thus Mr. *Lambert*, in his Exposition of *Saxon* Words, interprets it; *Vavasour's* Explication of it, is much to the same purpose; but *Skene de verborum Significatione*, saith, that it is the name of a Dignity, and appears to be equal with the Son of an Earl; and that *Thanus* was a Freeholder, holding his Lands of the King; hence *Thanagium Regis* signified a certain part of the King's, or property, whereof the Rule and Government appertain'd to him, who therefore is called *Thane*; he is of opinion it is originally a *Dutch* word, deduced from *Teiner*, a Servant, and *Teinen* to serve, and therefore may signifie a Servant; as an *Undertane* does an inferior *Thane* or Subject; he further adds, that when a Person was accused of Theft,

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Theft, but not in the Fang, (that is, as we say, with the manner of it) there being no sufficient proof brought against him, he was oblig'd to purge himself by the Oath of seven and twenty Men, and of three *Thanes*, and so much shall suffice concerning the name and office of Thane. To return therefore to our designed story, you are first to note by way of Recapitulation the bloody Foundation that has been laid here, *Bancho* the Grandfather conspiring with *Mackbeth* to imbrue his Hands in the innocent Blood of *Duncane*, his lawful and rightful Prince, and that not long done, when the same fate attended himself, and that by the contrivance of his own bloody Associate, as a just reward of his Treason: *Fleance* the Son, upon this, forced to flee his native Country; there ungratefully defiling that Prince his Daughter, who cherished him in his Bosom, but now as a Monster of Ingratitude he rid his Country and the Earth of him at the same time, by a violent and tragical Death; and lastly, *Walter* the Grandson, but base born, was forced to the same shift, as his Father before him, tho' with a better Fate; the one being under a necessity to forsake his native soil, to avoid being barbarously as well as injuriously murder'd by a jealous-headed Tyrant, but the other to shun the Justice of his Country, that cried out for Vengeance against him for shedding of Blood.

Walter

Walter being vested in the high Office aforesaid, left his Title and Dignity for a surname to his Family ever after, and from hence forward we find but little mention either of him, or his Posterity, till the contest between the *Bruce's* and *Baliol's* about the Crown of *Scotland*, which was above Two Hundred Years after; We shall therefore only endeavour to give you the Genealogy, down to the said time, that our History may appear to be all of a piece, and void of Breaks as much as may be. *Walter* therefore had a Son, named *Alane*, who, as they say, follow'd *Godfrey of Bullogn* into the Holy Land, in the Year 1099. *Alexander* was his Son, who begat *Walter Stuart*; he had Issue *Alexander*, whose Son was *John*, the Father of *Walter Stuart*, that marry'd the Daughter of King *Robert Bruce*, and begat on her *Robert Stuart*, call'd in the *Scotch Chronology* *Robert the second King of Scotland*, but he was the first *Stuart* that was advanced to the Throne of that Kingdom. But before we can fairly come to give you an exact Account hereof, it will be necessary to premise a short Scheme of the Contests between the said *Baliol* and *Bruce*, because somewhat interwoven with the Affair of this Family.

Upon

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Upon the disastrous death of *Alexander* the Third, who broke his Neck as he was gallopping his Horse at *Kingcorn*, over the West-clift of the place near the Sea-side, and left no Issue, but had only a Grand-child by his Daughter in *Norway*, very young, and who died soon after. *Scotland* fell under an *Interregnum* for the space of six Years and nine Months, as *Buchanan* computes it; for so long it was between the Death of *Alexander*, and the declaring of *John Baliol*, King of *Scotland*; and in the mean time you may be sure there wanted not Pretensions to the Crown, and the case briefly was thus: *William*, King of *Scotland*, had a Brother, named *David*, Earl of *Huntington*, and great Uncle to this *Alexander* the III. which *David* had three Daughters; *Margaret* marry'd to *Allan*, Lord of *Galloway*, *Isabel* to *Robert Bruce*, Lord *Annadale* and *Cleveland*, and *Adda* to *Henry Hastings*, Earl of *Huntington*; now *Alan* begat on his Wife *Margaret* a Daughter, named *Dornadilla*, marry'd in process of time to *John Baliol*, after King of *Scotland*, and two other Daughters; *Bruce* by his Wife *Isabel* had *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, (as having married the Inheri- trix thereof;) but as for *Huntington* he laid no manner of Claim. Now the question was whether *Baliol* in right of the eldest Daughter, or *Robert Bruce*, being descended of the second but a Male, should

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should have the Crown, he being in the same Degree, and of the more worthy Sex. The Controversie was tossed up and down by the Governors and Nobles of the Kingdom for a long time; but at last, upon serious deliberation, it was agreed to refer the whole matter to the decision of *Edward* the I. King of *England*, which he was not a little glad of: For resolving to fish in these troubled Waters he stirs up eight Competitors more, that he might further puzzle the Cause, and at length with twenty four Councillors, half *scots*, half *English*, and a great many Lawyers so handled the Business, that after a great many cunning delays he secretly tampers with *Bruce*, (who was then conceiv'd to have the better Right of the Business) that if he would acknowledge to hold the Crown of him, he would adjudge it in favour of him. But he generously answering, *That he valued a Crown at a less rate, than for the wearing of the same, to put his Country under a Foreign Yoke.* *Edward* turns about, and makes the same motion to *Baliol*, who did not stick to accept of it.

Baliol having thus gotten a Crown, as unhappily kept it; for he was no sooner invested with it, and done Homage to King *Edward*, according to Agreement, but the *Aberthenys* having slain *Mackduff*, Earl of *Fife*, he not only pardon'd them

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the Fact, but gave them a piece of Land that was in Controversie between them: Whereupon *Muceduff's* Brother being enraged, makes a Complaint of him to King *Edward*, who sent for him, used him so, that he made him rise from his Seat at Parliament, and go to the Bar, and answer for himself. He hereupon was so enraged at this manner of Usage, that when King *Edward* sent to him for Assistance against the *French*, he absolutely refused it, and proceeded so far as to renounce his Homage to him: This incensed King *Edward* to the quick, and so with an armed Power he hastens to *Berwick*, where he routed the *Scots*, took and kill'd to the number of Seven Thousand of them; among them, most of the Nobility of *Fife* and *Lowthian*, and some time after gave them also a great Overthrow at *Dunbar*, which occasion'd the immediate surrender of the Castle of the said place into his Hands. After this he marches to *Montrose*, where *Baliol* was brought to resign up both himself and his Crown to King *Edward*, all the *Scotch* Nobility at the same time doing him Homage: The Consequence whereof was that, *Baliol* was sent Prisoner to *London*, and from thence, after a Years detention, into *France*. But while *Edward* was possess'd of all *Scotland*, one *William Wallace* arose; who,

who, tho' but a private Man, bestirred himself in the publick Calamity of his Country, and gave the *English* several notable Foyls; This brought King *Edward* into *Scotland* again with an Army, and falling upon *Wallace*, routs him (who was overcome with Emulation and Envy from his Countrymen, as well as power from the Enemy) upon which he laid by his Command, and never acted after but by slight Incursions; but the *English* Army after this being beaten at *Roslin*, *Edward* comes in again, and takes *Sterling*, and makes them all render him Homage.

Robert Bruce, Son to the foresaid *Bruce*, that contested with *Baliol* for the Crown, was in King *Edward's* Court, and him the King had often promised to put in possession of the Crown; But *Bruce* finding at last that all his promises were illusory, and nothing but smoke; he enters into a Confederacy with *John Cummin*, surnamed the *Red*, how he might get the Kingdom; but being basely betray'd by him to King *Edward*, he had much ado to make his escape; and when he was got into *Scotland*, the first thing he did was to stab *Cummin* at *Drumgreis*, and then got himself Crown'd King at *Scone*: Never did any Man come with greater disadvantage to the possession of a Crown, or underwent greater Hard-

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ships for the sake of it. He was beaten over and over by King *Edward's* Troops, forced to flee to the Highlands with one Companion or two, and to lurk in the Mountains in great misery, as if he had been rather a Beast of prey than a rational Creature. And while he was in this miserable State, it is storied of him by *Fourdon*, That being in a Morning, lying down on his Bed, in a little Cottage, whither he was glad to retire, and make the same his Pallace; he espies a Spider striving to climb up into her Web, which she had spun to the roof of the House; but failing of her purpose the first time, she attempts it the second and third time, and so on to the sixth and last, wherein she accomplishes it, and gets in; the King, who (as well as his Companion) had all the while view'd the Action, said; *Now let's get up, and hasten to the Lowlands, to try our Fortunes once more; we have attempted it in five rencounters already, and fail'd, but in the sixth we shall prevail: and so having gather'd some Force together, he advanced towards Sterling, where he gave Edward the II. who was then King of England, such a Defeat, as Scotland never gave the like to our Nation, and so continued War with various Fortune with Edward the III. till at last Age and Leprosie brought him to his Grave. But some time before his Death he got the*
Crown

Crown settled upon his Son *David*, then a Child, and for want of his having Issue, upon *Robert Stuart*, his Sister's Son, and this by Act of Parliament, and the Nobles sware to it accordingly.

His Son *David*, of between eight and nine Years old, inherited that which he had with so much Difficulty and Danger obtain'd, and wisdom kept. He was in his Minority govern'd by *Thomas Randolf*, Earl of *Murrey*, whose severity in punishing was no less dreaded than his Valour had been honoured; but he soon after dying of Poyson, and *Edward Baliol*, the Son of *John*, coming with a Fleet, and being strengthened with the assistance of the *English*, and some Robbers; the Governor, the Earl of *Mar*, was put to the Rout so that *Baliol* makes himself King, and *David* was glad to retire into *France*: Amidst these Parties (*Edward* the III. backing of *Baliol*) *Scotland* was pitifully torn, and the *Bruces* in a manner extinguished; till *Robert Stuart*, afterward King of *Scotland*, with the Men of *Argyle*, and his own Friends and Family, began to renew the claim; and brought the Matter into a War again, which was carry'd on by *Andrew Murray*, the Governor, and afterward by himself; so that *David*, after nine Years Exile, adventured to return, where, making frequent Incurfions, he did at length

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in the fourth year after his Return, march into *England*, and in the Bishoprick of *Durham* was routed, and fled to an obscure Bridge, shewed by the Inhabitants to this day, where he was taken Prisoner by *John Copeland*, and continued so for the space of eleven Years. Soon after his Releasment and Return home, he calls a Parliament, wherein he enacted several Laws for the punishment of such as had fled from him at the Battle of *Durham*, and more particularly leveling at *Robert Stuart*, as being one of them, who had been the Cause of that great Overthrow. He got that Act, passed in his Father's time, whereby the Crown was appointed, for want of Issue of his Body, lawfully begotten, to descend to the said *Robert Stuart*, to be repeal'd; and *John Southerland*, Son to *Jane*, his youngest Sister, made Heir apparent in his stead; and the Nobility swore to the observance of the said Law. This made the Earl of *Southerland* so confident of the matter, that he gave almost all his Lands away among his Friends and Acquaintance; But alas, he was wretchedly mistaken, for his Son being afterwards one of those, sent as Hostages into *England*, for the security of the payment of King *David's* Ransom, he died there of the Plague; and *Robert Stuart* attain'd the King's Favour again, and succeeded as Heir to the Crown,
being

being the first of the Name of the *Stuarts* that ever sway'd a Scepter.

But things did not go on so smoothly with *Robert Stuart* upon the Death of *Southerland*, his Competitor first, and of *King David* afterward; but that he met with another Rub in his way from *William*, Earl of *Douglas*; who, when the Lords were assembled at *Lithgow* about the Succession, came thither with a great Power; and urged, he ought to be preferr'd before *Stuart*, as being descended from the *Baliols* and *Commins*. But finding at length that his own Friends, and particularly the Earls of *March* and *Murray*, his Brethren, with the Lord *Erskein*, who all three were in great power, as being Governors, one of *Dunbritton*, another of *Sterling*, and the third of *Edinburg*, opposed him; he thought it most advisable to desist from his Claim: And so *Robert Stuart* was Crown'd at *Scone* on *Lady-day*, in the Year 1370. being the 47th. Year of his Age. But, that *Douglas* might be a little soothed up under his present Disappointment, and kept from disturbing the common Tranquillity, the King bestows *Euphemia*, his eldest Daughter, in Marriage, upon him. Whether it were thro' an advanced Age, or Sloth, we find he did but little since his Accession to the Crown, but his Lieutenants

Robert Stuart, by the Name of *Robert II.* tho' the first of the *Stuarts*, I was crown'd King of *Scotland*, *Mar.* 25. *Anno Dom.* 1370

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and the *English* were perpetually in action during the course of his Reign, which was according to *Buchanan* nineteen Years, and four and twenty Days. And tho' it's true, we do not find his Death to have been violent, or any ways accelerated by Grief of Heart, but natural in an old age, having lived seventy-four Years; yet surely he laid the Foundation for the many Parricides, Fratricides, and other dreadful Calamities that beset his Posterity in a very great measure, by preferring his Illegitimate Children by *Elizabeth Moor*, his Concubine, before those he had lawfully begotten on *Euphemia Ross*, his Wife: And the Case was briefly thus. At the time of his attaining the Crown, the foresaid *Euphemia*, Daughter to *Hugh*, Earl of *Ross*, was his lawful Wife, by whom he had two Sons, *Walter*, afterward created Earl of *Atholl*, and *David*, Earl of *Strathern*; but before he was married he kept one *Elizabeth Mure*, (for so the *Scotch* write the Name) as his Concubine, and had by her three Sons, *John*, Earl of *Carrick*; *Robert*, Earl of *Menteith* and *Fife*; and *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan*, with several Daughters: Now Queen *Euphemia* departed this Life three Years after her Husband became King, who forthwith marry'd *Elizabeth Mure*, his old Paramour, either to legitimate the Children he had by her (which it seems was the

the manner in those days) or else for old acquaintance ; her Husband *Gifford* (for you must know he had got her matched to cover her shame) dying about the same time, as the Queen had done. This step drew on another, and there was no stopping now, but the Children formerly begotten on this Woman in Adultery must have the Crown entailed upon them by Parliament, in prejudice to the other two, who by any thing that appears in History, were finer Gentlemen and fitter, as they had a juster Claim to govern, then either of these. I know the Lord Viscount *Tarbert* in a late Pamphlet, has taken upon him to vindicate the Legitimacy of *Moor's* Children, against all the Authority of the *Scotch* Historians, who lived at or near those times, and ever since ; who could not be ignorant of so material a thing as this, and to this end he Cites several Records. It's not my business to answer his allegations, but I am sure the Records would never have named *John* that afterwards succeeded, *Tanquam haeres*, if he had been true and undoubted Heir : And so I leave any one to judge, if the Records do not thereby make much more against his Legitimacy than it does for it ; But right or wrong the Sluts Will must be gratified, and so *John* succeeds his Father in the *Scottish* Kingdom, but not by the name of *John*, for that forsooth was omi-

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nous, for *John* King of *France* was a Prisoner in *England*, but by the name of *Robert*: It's true there is no great matter in the thing it self, either one way or other; for an *Alias*, or a double name cannot prejudice an honest and vertuous Man, and when Judge *Catiline* took exception at one in this respect; saying, that no honest Man had a double name, and came in with an *Alias*; the party asked him, what exception his Lordship could take to *Jesus Christ*, *Alias*, *Jesus of Nazareth*.

Robert III.
alias, John
Stuart, began his
Reign,
An. Dom.
1390.

The Father was scarce well cold in his Grave, or the Son warm in his Throne, but his Progeny begot by him in the heat of his Blood, began in their Stations to act their Tragical part. This King in his Fathers life-time had the misfortune to be kicked on the Leg by an Horse of *Sir James Douglass* of *Dalkeith*, and so lamed his Body, as he was lame in his Intellectuals, being a dull stupid Man and unfit to Govern; insomuch that he had but the name of King, the whole Administration being lodged in his Brother *Robert*, Earl of *Fife*, who did what he pleased with him and his, as you'll see by and by: *Alexander* the youngest brother and Earl of *Buchan*, a Man of a Fierce Nature, could not long contain it, but he begins to disturb the Government of his Brethren, upon a slight displeasure conceived against

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against the Bishop of *Murray*; and seeing he could find no opportunity to kill him, he revengfully sets fire to the Cathedral Church, which was the stateliest Pile of Building in all the North of *Scotland*. A Son he had, whose name was *Duncane* or *Dunach*, ten times more profligate, if it were possible than himself, and guilty of the basest and most degenerate actions. He upon the death of his Grand-father lets the Reins loose, and supposing now there was room for Rapine and Villany, Heads a strong band of Thiefs, and comes down to the Country of *Angus*, spoils and ravages the Country, as if he had been a professed Enemy; and being elevated by some petty success they had against *Walter Ogilby*, and *Walter Lichton* who opposed them; they proceeded to perpetrate greater Villanies than before, till at last being dispersed by the Earl of *Crawford*, many of them were persued and slain, and the rest taken and suffered condign Punishment.

King *Robert*, had now Governed by his Governour, for the space of Eight Years, when a Parliament was held at *Perth*; wherein to manifest his Favour, he made his Eldest Son *David*, who was then Eighteen Years of Age, Duke of *Rothsay*, and his Brother the Governour, Duke of *Albany*; Virgin Titles, that till this time had been unknown in *Scotland*, saith *Buchanan*,

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chanan, and which boded no good success to the Masters of them, but generally proved very ominous. About some three years after dyed Queen *Annabella*, and *Walter Tralie* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the one while he lived keeping up the Ecclesiastical Discipline in the Church, and the other the Lignity of the Court, so that the death of two such useful and Illustrious Persons ushered in great Calamities in the Land; and such a Tragedy as can scarce be met with in the Records of Time. The Queen in her life-time had had a particular eye over, and care of the Education of her son *David*, Duke of *Rethsay*, and by a severe Discipline restrained his boisterous and untoward nature in a great measure; But now the check was taken off, he gave himself over to all manner of licentiousness. His Fathers indulgence to him proved an incitative to his Lust, and lack of Authority despoiled him of that Reverence that should have been paid unto him, and made his admonitions of none effect; So that at last he grew to that height of outrageousness and impiety, that laying aside all manner of fear and shame, he made it his business to defile mens Wives, deflower Virgins, Nuns and all other kind of Women; and where he found opposition, he made use of Force and Violence. These Tragedies could not go long undiscovered

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discovered, and therefore several complaints were preferred against him to his Father; who at last perceiving it beyond his power to restrain those exorbitant Courses, and that such violations would unavoidably bring both Father and Son to utmost Contempt, and might have a very bad Consequence to attend them; he Writes to his Brother the Governour, and now Duke of *Albany*, to take the young Man into his own governance and keeping, till such time and in expectation he should be reclaimed and brought to a better temper. This was that which the Governour for a long time had lacked, as thinking if he were once taken out of the way, his passage to the Crown might in time be made smooth and easie (and therefore leaves no stone unturned to get him into his bloody Clutches) at last he contrived the matter so, that he seized him upon the Road near *St. Andrew's*, and conveyed him to the Castle of the said place, which he had taken into his own hands upon the death of the Bishop a little before, under pretence of securing of it; and in a short time after removed him thence, into his own Castle of *Falkland*, making him there a close Prisoner: And now resolved he was to be rid of him, and he could think of no method more expedient to effect his devilish design than by starving of him; But that life which the barbarous cruelty
of

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of the Unkle had destined for a most miserable death, the compassion of two young Women prolonged for a time: One of them was daughter to the Governour of the Castle, and who had the charge of the young Duke, who as often as she had an opportunity to go into the Gardens adjacent to the Castle, did put into him some oaten Cake folded up in a Vail which she carelessly wore on her head to keep off the Sun, through a small chink rather than a Window: The other was a poor Nurse, who through a long Reading fed him with the Milk from her own Breasts. When the young Man's Punishment as well as his Life had by this hard shift been for some days prolonged, which rather served for the increasing than allaying of his hunger; the Women were at last discovered by the Spies they had every where about them, and were both villanously put to death, the Father shewing as much unhumane cruelty towards his daughter, as she had shewn mercy to his Royal Prisoner, bitterly cursing her perfidy (as he called it) as endeavouring thereby to shew himself faithful to a faithless Brother, Unkle and Governour. The young Man being thus deprived of all humane relief, was constrain'd through the violence of hunger, not only to eat all such filth as he could find within his Prison, but at last to set upon his own flesh.

flesh, and to gnaw off his own Fingers, and so ended his wretched life, and died, as I may say a double Death: This barbarous act needs no Comment, it bespeaks Villany to the height in every part of it.

Some time elapsed before this dreadful news of the Prince's death came to the Ears of the King, none adventuring to be the sad Messenger unto him, of that which almost all knew off; but when he was advertised of it, and had also some secret intimations given him, his Brother had had a deep, if not the sole hand in it (for none durst accuse so great a Man openly) he grew very sad and melancholy thereupon; and the rather, in that he had not power to take Vengeance upon him, for the perpetrating of so barbarous a deed, and for doing him so unretrievable an injury: However to make some semblance of Kingly Authority, he sends for the Duke his Brother to come to him, at leastwise to expostulate with him about the fact. The Duke who knew the purport of the message as well as himself, frames a fair and specious story to excuse himself, as tho he were as innocent of the fact as the Child Unborn; And for a farther proof of it, urges his care to seek out the Perpetrators of that horrid deed, and that he had now at length made so far a progress in the matter; that he did not doubt but
if

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if the King would be pleased to come to *Edenburgh*, he should be able to bring in all the Offenders. The King who was then at a place called *Bute*, where for the most part he ever resided, tho he was very unfit to travel upon many accounts, and especially by reason of a tedious fit of sickness he had laboured under ; yet so great and eager a desire he had to see his Son's death punished, that he made a hard shift to get in a Chariot into *Edenburgh*. When he was come thither, the Governour convenes the Council, and orders the parties accused to be brought before them the King himself being also present. The Accusers, as the Duke (who was rather the guilty person, had before contrived it) stoutly charge them with the fact. The King after he had imprecated Vengeance from Heaven, and the most dreadful Curses upon them and their Posterity, who had perpetrated so horrid an act, being over-press'd with sorrow and infirmity of Body, returns to *Bute*, from whence he came. The Duke that he might colour the matter as much as might be, brings the supposed Criminals to their Tryals, and by corrupt Judges (such as the Duke had provided for that purpose) were Condemned as guilty of his Murder, whom in all their life time they had never seen.

Tho

Tho this matter was managed on the part of the Governor with all the Fineness and Address imaginable, yet the King was not so satisfied in his Mind, but that he retain'd still a great suspicion of the Duke's having an Hand in his Son's Death. But forasmuch as he well knew that the Duke had all the Kingdom of *Scotland* under his Obeisance, partly by Policy, and partly by virtue of his Office of Governour, he durst not shew his resentment, nor attempt to call him to an account for it ; but was rather afraid on the other hand, lest having ambitious Desires to possess himself of the Crown, he would also make it his Business to procure the death of his second Son *James*, and by that means take off the only Rub in his way. The King, I say, being thus solicitous in Mind about securing that to his Posterity which his unnatural Brother was intent to deprive them of, consults with *Walter Wardlaw*, Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews* about his Son's Security. After serious deliberation they at last conclude it was no ways safe for Prince *James* to remain in *Scotland*, and therefore he resolved to send him over into *France* to *Charles* the VI. an old Allie, and real Friend to the *Scottish* Nation, knowing he could no where be more safely and liberally educated than there: But considering the uncertain vicissitude of Hu-

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mane things, and that no Precautions for his future Security might be wanting, the King delivers his Son a Letter, written to the King of *England* in his Behalf, if it should be his hard Fortune to fall into the Hands of the *English*.

The *King*, in pursuance to the said Resolution orders all things to be got in a readiness, for his Passage, and appointed *Henry Sinclear*, Earl of *Orkney*, to take care for the safe Conveyance of him. They took Shipping at the *Bass*, and so shear'd their Course for the *French* Shoar; but when they were got as far as *Flamborough-Head*, they were, as some say, taken by the *English*, who had heard of their sailing, and laid in wait, to intercept them: But others write, that the Prince finding himself extreamly Sea-sick, and not able to endure it, desired he might be put on Shoar there, and so was taken into Custody, and carry'd up to the *English* Court; but however it happened, taken he was, in the ninth Year of his Age, *Anno 1406*. *Henry IV.* was then *King* of *England*, to whose Presence, when the Prince was come, he deliver'd him his Father's Letter; which, because of the rarity of it, as being written in the *Scotish* Dialect of those times, we have thought fit to insert, and is as followeth.

Robert

Robert, King of Scots, to Henry, King
of England, Greeting.

THY great Magnificence, Humility and
Justice, are right patent to us by thy
Governance of thy last Army in Scotland,
howbeit, sike things had been uncertein to us
afore; for tho' thou seemed as Enemie with
most awful IncurSIONS in our Realme; Zit
we found mair Humanities and Plaisures than
Damage (by thy cumming) to our Subditter,
specialie to yame that receivit thy noble
Fader the Duke of Longcastle, the time of
his Exile in Scotland, we may not ceis yair
fare, while we are on life, but ayl luyf and
loif thee us maist noble and woarthy Prince,
to joys thy Realme; for yocht Realmes and
Nations contend amang themself for Conquests
of Glory and Launds, Zit na accassoun is
amang us to invade other Realmes or Lieges
with Injuries, but erar to contend amang our
self, cuhay shall perseue other with maist hu-
manitee and kindnes. As to us we will
meis all occasion of battell, quare any occurs
at thy pleasure: Farther, bycause we have
no lesse sollicitude in preservng our Children
fra certein deidley Enemies, than had some-
time thy noble Fader, we are constreined to
seek Support at uncouth Princes Hands.
Howbeit, the invassoun of Enemies is sa great,
that small defense ouirres against yame, with-

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aut they be preserved by *Amitie* of nobill Men. For the World is sa full of perversit malice, that na crueltie nor offence may be devisit in erd, bot the samme may be wroucht be motion of gold or silver. Heirfore, because we know thy Hyness full of Monie, nobill Vertue, with sike Puissance and Riches, that na Prince in our daies may be compared thairto, we desire thy Humanity and Support at this time.

We traist it is not unknowen to thy Majesty, how our eldest Son David is slain miserablie in Prisoun by our Brother, the Duke of Albanie, quhome we chesit to be Governor (quan we were fallen into decrepit age) to our Subdittes and Realme, beseekand thy hieness thairfore to be sa favarable, that this Bearer James, our second and allanerlie Son, may have to lise under thy Fayth and Justice, to be some memory of our Posterity, knowand the unstable Condition of mans life sa sodanlie altered: Now flurisaund an sodenlie falling to utter consumption. Forthir, believe well quhan Kings and Princes hes na other beild bot in thair owin folkes, thair Empireis, caduke and fragill, for the minds of common People are evir flowaund and mair inconstant than wind. Zit quhen Princes are robarat, be amited of othir uncouth Kings thair brathir and neibowris, na adversitie may occure to eject thaim fra thair dignitie riall. Forthir, gif thy hieness thinke nocht expedient (as Gad forbeid) to obtemper to thir

our

owr desires, zit we request any thing quibilk was ratifijt in owr last trewes and conditionn of Peace, that the supplicatioun made be ony of the two Kings of Ingland and Scotland sall staund in manner of sause conduct to the Bearer. And thus we desire to be observat to this owr allanerlie Sonne, and the gracious God conserve, thee maist nobill Prince.

When Kirg *Henry* had read this Letter, he deliberated with his Council what was most expedient for him to do upon this occasion, at last considering there were divers *English* Rebels harbour'd in *Scotland*, he resolv'd to keep Prince *James* as his Prisoner; but yet in such Honourable State, that he could not have met with such Treatment and Advantages of a Princely and Liberal Education in his own native Country. The immature and violent Death of Prince *David*, as has been already noted, had sunk King *Robert's* Spirits very low; but when the dreadful News of Prince *James*, being made Prisoner in *England*, reached his Ears, which was as he sat at Supper, he had like to have died in the Arms of the Standers by; his Heart was so overpower'd with Grief and Melancholy, as to admit of no manner of Consolation; exclaiming against his hard Fortune, in marrying a Woman of so mean a degree, to the di-

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spargment of his Blood, as was Queen Annabel, by whom he had these Sons, which, as he took it, was the only Cause why Forreign Princes, as well as his own Subjects, had him thus so much in Contempt. So being carried into his Chamber, what with wilful Abstinence and violent Sorrow, he died in three Days after, having reign'd about sixteen Years, *Anno Dom. 1408.* A Man he was of a mighty stature, but had not an Heart proportionable to his Bulk, as appears manifestly by the Circumstances of his Death; which tho' not procur'd by violent Hands, yet was sufficiently tragical, and herein discover'd himself to be far from the Temper Seneca speaks of, *Nihil tam acerbum est in quo non equus animus solatium inveniat.*

The Death of King Robert introduced an *Interregnum* in Scotland for the space of near Eighteen Years, for so long a time was James detain'd a Prisoner in England, and there was no way left but to confirm the old Governor in his Station again, who held it for the space of fifteen Years longer, and at length died a natural Death: but 'tis strange he should, that had been so unnatural to his own Nephew, by famishing him to Death, and done so many barbarous actions, for to clear himself, and to palliate his horrid Fact. He was succeeded

ed in his Estate and Honours, by *Mor-*
do, his eldest Son, who was also cho-
sen Governor of the Kingdom; a Man,
full of Repugnant Vices, and so unfit for
the management of that high Office,
he was entrusted with, that he was not
capable to rule his own Family: He
had three Sons, *Walter*, *James*, and *Ale-*
xander, who abusing the Lenity and Foo-
lish Indulgence of their Father, and play-
ing many Outragious Tricks, to the Of-
fence and Prejudice of many; and one
of them at length being displeased with
his Father, in that he would not give
him a Falcon he had for a long time
greatly desired; he stept unto him,
and audaciously plucking the Bird from
off his Father's Filt, wrung his Neck from
his Body before his Face; whereupon,
the Father being somewhat enraged with
such presumptuous Doings of his Son,
said; *Walter*, for so was his Name, *seeing*
it is come to that pass, that thou and thy
Brothers will not be ruled by my soft and
gentle Government, I shall ere long bring him
home that shall chastise both you and me af-
ter another manner; and from hence for-
wards he made it his whole Business
to get King *James* redeem'd from the
Hands of the *English*, and to set him
on the Throne. To this purpose he call'd
a Parliament at *Perth*, where it was u-
nanimously agreed to send a solemn Em-

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baslie to the King of *England*, to demand the Restitution of their King, and to offer Terms for his Releasment.

James Stuart I. began his Reign actually Anno 1423. having been a Prisoner in *England* almost eighteen Years. *James* had contracted some Friends in *England* during his Captivity, especially by the means of the Lady *Jane*, Daughter to the Earl of *Somerset*, whom he had taken to Wife, so that in a short time the Terms for his Liberty were agreed on, and so he sets forwards towards *Scotland*. Where he was no sooner arrived but he was encountered with diverse Complaints against several Persons, and especially *Walter Stuart*, the Son of the Governor aforesaid, who was sent to Prison in the *Bass*, and in the next Parliament, convened at *Perth*; Duke *Mordo* himself with *Alexander*, another of his Sons were arrested, and committed to safe Custody; the Duke to *Carlaurock*, and his Dutcheß to a place call'd *Tantalloun*. Not long after *James*, Duke *Mordo's* third Son (to hasten the fate of the *Stuarts*) being moved with great Indignation, that his Father and Brethren were thus (as he conceived) unjustly imprison'd, came suddenly with a good Band of Men to the Town of *Dunbritton*, sack't and burn the Place, killing one *Stuart* more, to wit, *John*, surnamed the *Red*, as *Buchanan* says, and the King's Uncle, with two and thirty

thirty Persons besides. But he was so straitned by the King's Arms, and pursued so close, that he was forced to flee into *Ireland*, and soon after died there an exile. The same Year the King call'd a Parliament at *Sterling*, whereing *Mordo*, with his two Sons, *Walter* and *Alexander*, and *Duncan Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox* (four of them at one clap) were convicted of High-Treason, and the two Sons the very same day were beheaded in the open place, before the Castle, and next Morning Duke *Mordo* and *Lenox* run the same Fate in the same place: It's a constant Fame (saith *Buchanan*, tho' I find it written no where) that the King sent the Heads of the Father, Husband and Children, to *Isabella*, Wife to the said *Mordo*, his Cousin-Germane; to try (a barbarous Practise) whether she who was known to be a fierce Woman, would (as mostly it happens) through excess of Grief, discover the Secresie of her Mind upon such an occasion: But she, notwithstanding all that grievous and unlook'd for Spectacle, did not inordinately break forth into any bitter Words, but only said with a calm Temper, *If the faults were true which have been laid to their Charge, the King had done nothing but what is Right and Just unto them.* As this King's Reign was usher'd in with the foresaid Troubles, it continued to be in a ferment

ment upon other Accounts, and particularly for the great Pension raised for his Ransom, and for raising of other Moneys; which tho' the Revenues were exhausted, was interpreted Covetousness in him. But in the thirteenth and last Year of his Reign a sharp Rencounter happening between *Henry Percy* and *William Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, at a place call'd *Piperden*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; *James* thinking himself injured hereby by the *English*, as the *Scotch* Historians write, but *Hall* and *Grafton* charge him home with Ungratitude herein, raises a great Army, and lays Siege to the Castle of *Roxborough*; but when, as the *Scotch* write, he had almost brought his Work to Perfection, and that the besieged began to capitulate about surrendring of the place, the Queen in all haste came to the Camp; and acquainted him there was a horrid Conspiracy framed against his Life, and conjured him to use all the Precautions imaginable to secure himself. The King was surprized with the Message, he forthwith raised the Siege, and returned home, to provide for his better safety, tho' all avail'd little.

But that you may have a clearer Idea of the whole Matter, we must a little look back, and tell you again that *Robert II.* had three Sons by his Concubine, whom he afterward married, and so settled the Crown

Crown upon them, to the Exclusion of his two legitimate Sons by his Queen *Euphemia Ross*, who were *Walter*, Earl of *Athol*, and *David*, Earl of *Strathern*: Now these two, tho' they found themselves injured by such a Preference of an illegitimate Race before them; Yet being inferiour, both in Years and Wealth, they dissembled their Resentment for the present: The Death also of the Earl of *Strathern* weakned their Hands, who left one only Daughter behind him, who was given in Marriage to *Patrick Graham*, a noble Youth, and a most potent and illustrious Family as any in that Age; on whom he begat *Melisse Graham*, whose Parents did not long survive: And the Child not many Years after, being then a Stripling, was sent into *England* among those who were Hostages till the Money for the Kings Ransom were discharg'd and paid. But *Atholl*, tho' he were every ways inferior to the opposite Faction, yet ever made it his Business to take off his Kindred, and did not lay aside his Hopes of recovering the Crown; and because he was not capable of doing any thing by open force, he craftily sowed Discord among them, and so plied the Matter, that, as has been already in some measure set forth, a very numerous Family were reduced to a few, for the most part, by his Council. For many were of Opinion,
that

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that it was by his Contrivance that *David*, Duke of *Rothsay*, King *Robert's* Son, was cut off, neither had *James* escap'd his Snares, unless he had spent the greatest part of his Life in *England*, far from his reach: He would have encouraged the Earl of *Fife* to seise upon the Kingdom, taxing his Brother with Slothfulness, and fit to be taken off; and when the King, having now no Children to succeed him (for *James* was then a Prisoner in *England*) and obnoxious to the Pleasure of his Brother, had suddenly died of Grief, there was only the Governor now and his Children, that impeded his Hopes. But when *Robert*, the Governor was dead, and his Son *John* kill'd at the Battle of *Ver-nole* in *France*, he re-assumed his former Thoughts with greater Vigour, and strain'd all his Wits to compass the same; first, by getting of King *James* released, and then contriving Duke *Mordo's* and his Children's Death; and since it was almost inconsistent that all these should subsist and be safe together, he foresaw that which soever fell of them; he was one degree nearer to the Crown: Therefore when *James* was at last return'd to his Country, he set all his Engines on work to hasten *Mordo's* death, finds out fit tools to bear Testimony against him, and set himself as Judge upon him and his Children; and when they also were cut off,

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off, there was only King *James* and a young Son of six Years old, that stood in the way ; and when he by a conjuration of the Nobility were once removed, the Earl did not doubt but himself who was the only surviving Person of the Royal Stem, should be advanced to the Throne.

Arboll therefore, I say, being night and day agitated with such Considerations, did however keep all his Designs close and secret ; and thro' a counterfeit Zeal for the King's Welfare, made it his Business to cut off his Relations and Friends ; and more especially to advance his own Estate by the Misfortune and Crimes of other Men, and so to lessen his Adversaries. In the mean time, King *James*, to further his own Misfortune, deprived *Melisse Graham*, (who we have said was one of the Hostages in *England*) of the Earldom of *Strathern*, alledging it was bestowed on his Grandfather of the maternal side, and his Masculine Line ; and for want of such Issue, to revert to the Crown : The Misfortune of the young Man induced many to commiserate his Case, but made *Robert* his Guardian almost stark mad ; and so being more impatient of the Injury offer'd to his Kinsman, stuck not to accuse the King openly of injustice ; and being cited to appear, to make his defence, but did not, a Sentence of Banishment pass'd against him: This did but enrage him more
and

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and more, and his whole Business seem'd to be to engage others, who had been injur'd in their own Persons or Friends, to entertain the same Sentiments of the King, in respect to his Avarice and Cruelty as he had done; but it had been well if he had rested here.

You have heard before, how the King was advertis'd of a Conspiracy against him at *Roxborough*, and how the King, to obviate the same, retired home, and took up his Lodgings in the Convent of the *Dominicans* at *Perth*, and what Designs *Walter*, Earl of *Atholl*, had been hatching from time to time. Now this *Walter*, the King's Uncle, tho' he were *Principall* Author and Contriver of the Conspiracy, yet he did his utmost endeavour to put off all manner of Suspicion of it from himself; therefore he privily sends for, and discourses with *Robert Graham*, afore-mentioned; who, as being an active, bold, rash Man, and an hater of the King, upon account of his own Imprisonment and Banishment, and the Injury done to his Nephew, by divesting of him of the Earldom of *Strathern*, he thought to be a Person most fit for his purpose; and with him he engaged his own Grandson *Robert Stuart*, a stout hardy Youth, who readily engaged in the Work. He instructs them what they were to do, assured them of his favour, when the Fact was perpetrated,

not

not doubting but himself should be advanced to the Throne. Having thus agreed and resolved upon their hellish Design, they advance secretly with their Accomplices, whom they had drawn into the Conspiracy towards the Friers aforesaid, where the King then resided, and encourag'd the King's Porter, whom before they had brought over to their Party, to give them un-interrupted admittance; which he does, and they advanced into the Gallery, adjacent to the King's Bed-Chamber, where he shews them the Door might be easily forced open, he himself having taken away the Bolt: Others think it was *Robert Stuart* aforesaid, *Atholl's* Grandson, that let them into the Court; however it was, while they in the mean time tarried in the Gallery, seeming to deliberate about the breaking the Door open, an Accident made their Passage the more easie; for *Walter Traiton* coming out of the Chamber, as having brought in some Wine for the King a little before; and seeing of armed Men in the Gallery, he endeavours to whip in again, crying, out *Treason, Treason*: But before he could get within the Door, to make it fast, they rushed upon him, and slew him outright: While this was done, not without great bustle and noise, a noble Maiden, named *Katherine Douglas*, marry'd afterward to *Alexander Lovell*,
of

of *Bolunny*, got to the Door, and not finding the Bolt that had before been taken away (as you have heard) she thrusts her Arm into the place where the Bar should have been; but her Arm was soon crusht and broke, and the Ruffians forced their way into the Chamber. Such of the Servants as were there, and made Resistance, they dispatch forthwith, and then advanced towards the King, and fell upon him: The Queen did all she could to defend him, and receiv'd two Wounds, and thereby was forced to give over the Conflict; and so at last, the *King* having received to the number of eight and twenty Wounds, and some of them to the Heart, was slain by them. Thus fell *James* the I. *King* of *Scotland*, by violent and bloody Hands, and seem'd to entail a violent Death upon all of his Name that succeeded him; but because the Execution of some of the Conspirators was the most terrible that can be met with in History, we shall give you a short Account of it, and the rather, because of the Persons concern'd therein.

The Nobles of the *Kingdom* hearing this unexpected News, assembled from all parts of the Nation to *Edinburg*, and made such diligent Search after the Conspirators, that they were soon apprehended, Tried and Condemn'd. *Walter Stuart*, Earl of *Atholl*, was charged, as being principal

principal Actor in this Tragedy, his crime exaggerated to the height, and was executed in this tremendous manner. On the first day, being stripped of all his cloaths, save only his shirt only, he was bound fast in a Cart to an Instrument of wood made like to a swiſe, with Ropes and Pul-
lies to the ſame, by which means they ſometimes raiſed him up on high into the Air that the people might ſee him, and by ſlackning of the Rope all of a ſudden, let him down with a ſwang diſ-jointing all his body thereby; then they brought him to an open place, where all might be Spectators and Crowned him with a red hot Crown of Iron, with this Elogium that he might be Stiled the King of all Traytors. The reaſon of this part of the puniſhment was ſaid to be this; for that a Witch had told him that he ſhould be Crowned with great Pomp and Magnificence in the preſence of the people, and that the prediction was in this manner either fulfilled or eluded. On the ſecond day he was drawn on a burdle through the high Street of *Edenburgh* at an Horſes tail; he was on the third day extended upon a board at the Market-Croſs, his Belly ripped up and his Bowels taken out, thrown into the fire and burnt before his face; then was his heart plucked out and burnt likewise, and laſt of all his head was chopp'd off and fixed

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upon a long Pole and set upon the highest place of the City, his body divided into four Quarters and sent to the four principal Cities of the Kingdom. The Execution of *Robert Stuart* was not altogether so severe as that of his Grandfather, some respect being had to his youth: But as for *Robert Graham*, who (as did appear) was the Person that slew the King with his own hands, he was put into a Cart and that hand that did the deed, fastned to a pair of Gallows that was set up in the said Cart; then were three persons appointed to thrust him through all parts of his body with hot Irons, beginning first with those places where it was thought no hasty Death would ensue, as with his Legs, Arms, Thighs and Shoulders, and thus was he carried through all the Streets of the City and tormented in a most horrible manner, and at last his Belly ript open, Bowelled and Quartered as *Atholl* was before, and thus was the cruel Death of King *James* revenged in the most cruel manner that was ever heard off, beyond all the Bounds of Humanity.

James
Stuart II
began his
Reign
March 27.
1437.

You have seen the dreadful effects of the *Interregnum*, now the Kingdom falls under a worse Administration, even under one of the woes of God Almighty himself, for this King was succeeded by his

his Son *James*, the second of that Name, a Minor of about six years old ; And as the King was not yet able to Govern himself, another must be chosen, to Govern both him and the Kingdom ; and this fell to Sir *Alexander Levingston* and Sir *William Creichton* the Chancellor ; the former had the denomination of the Governour, and the other had the Kings keeping. Never was poor Prince more harrassed till he came to Maturity, which they say in Princes is at fourteen, through the Jealousy and Ambition of these two men fomented also by others, who were willing to fish in troubled waters. The Chancellour kept the King in *Edenburg* Castle ; the Queen *Jane* sides with the Governor and resided at *Sterling* ; *Archembald* Earl of *Douglas* a powerful Subject, kept within his own Territories, and would obey none of them all ; by which discords many evils ensued : The Queen being intent upon advancing the Governor's side, and thereby gratify her own Ambition, repairs one day with a small retinue to the City of *Edenburg* ; and with a Womanish Dissimulation, won the Chancellor to give her Admittance into the Castle to see the King, and to abide with him ; whose Company she so extremely longed for. But when she had been there three Days, she feigns a Pilgrimage one morning to the *White Kirk* ; but first wheedles with the King to make his escape,

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which she easily brought him to, packed him up dexterously in a Trunk, as if he had been a bundle of Cloaths, and sent him away by one of her trusty Servants, laid upon a Sumpter Horse into *Lieth*, from whence he was conveyed by water to *Sterling*, and Joyfully received by the Governor who highly extolled the Queens Conduct in deceiving so wise a Man as the Chancellor, and without delay raises Forces and Besieges him in *Edenburg* Castle. He perceiving the danger, had no other way left but to send to the Earl of *Dowglas* for his Assistance. *Dowglas* disdains them both and would not be concerned: The Chancellor seeing this, agrees with the Governor, and he was still to keep the Castle and his Chancellorship. Not long after died *Dowglas* and was succeeded by his Son *William*, who kept a greater port and retinue than his Father. But things could not hold long in this State, for the Chancellor disdaining that the Governor should take the whole Administration upon him, leaves him and the *King* at *Sterling*, (where he then was) and repairs to *Edenburg*, and there employs all his Wits how he might recover the *King* from the Governor; and after he had well thought of it, he rides one morning with four and twenty Men in his Company to the Park of *Sterling*, where he knew the *King* was a Hunting, and that
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the Governor was absent at *Perth*. He found the *King* with a very small retinue and saluted him very dutifully, and finding him in some surprize at the Company, he exhorted him in a few words as the time would permit, to be of good cheer and fear nothing, that they were come to deliver him from his Captivity; that he might be no longer under the Government of another, but take the Administration into his own hands and much to the same purpose. All which the *King* received with a pleasant aspect; either because the motion pleased him as desirous to Rule, or to dissemble the fear he had of the Chancellor, and so went with him to *Edenburgh*. The Governor upon his return, was horribly surprized at the News, but being now unable to remedy the matter, by the means of friends, he and the Chancellor came to an Accommodation again; and the result was, that the Governor should still continue in his Office, and the *King* remain in the keeping of the Chancellor, as at first: So that the freedom before tendered to him, and with which he seem'd to be well pleas'd, was now but a meer illusion, being as much a Captive as ever.

And if the *King* was no better for this Agreement; It proved fatal to the Earl of *Dowglas*: Both Governor and Chan-

cellor dreading his power, now combine together to ruine him, and to that End, a Parliament must be called, where several Complaints were made against *Dowglass* and his followers. But they two perswade the Parliament to send for the Earl in a friendly manner, and not as a delinquent, to take his place in that Assembly ; And by the Governors contrivance, Honourable Letters were directed to him, in the Name of them all, full of soothing expressions, intimating his own Person was so far from being in any danger, by such his attendance in Parliament, that if any of his Friends or Family had chanced to be guilty of any disorders, all should be frankly remitted : This bait took the young Gentleman, and so with his Brother *David* and an handsom retinue, sets forward for *Edenburgh* ; the Chancellor the better to cloak the Treachery, rode out many miles from *Edenburgh* to meet him ; Caresed and Entertained him splendidly on the way at the Castle of *Creichton*, and to blind him the more, there in the most friendly and tender manner in the World, began to advise the Earl in what concerned his Duty towards his Prince and the Honour and Glory of his Family ; and this showed him on to *Edenburgh*, tho' things could not be carried on so coverlly between the Governor and Chancellor in the management of
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this intrigue, but that some of the Earls Friends began to smell a Rat and advised him not to goto *Edenburg*. But finding him quite averse to Counsel and void of all suspicion, they urged him to send his Brother *David* back, to the End he might not hazard the whole Family under the fortune of one stroke, as his Father had before admonished him upon his Death-Bed. But all in vain, and so to *Edenburg* Castle they came, where the Governor meets him and Carressed him highly, and because he should now think his Entertainment every ways suitable to the semblance made of it all along, he was set to Dine at the King's Table; but *latet Anguis in herba*, the Earl before he had well half Din'd, was strangely surprized with the sight of a Bulls Head set before him, which in those Days was a certain sign of Death; whereat being about to rise from the Table, he and his Brother *David* were immediately seized by Armed men set there for that purpose; carried into the Court yard and there forthwith beheaded, It was said the King, in whose presence this was done, and who now was entring into years of Maturity and Discretion; lamented his Death bitterly, for which the Chancellor severely rebuked him; but however it was in this case, it's most certain he afterwards most barbarously mur-

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dered one of this Earls Successors, with his own hands, as you'll see by and by.

This Earl of *Dowglas* was Succeeded in his Estate and Honours by his Uncle *James Dowglas* Baron of *Abercorn*; who is Succeeded by his Son *William*; who to prevent the division of the Inheritance, Married the only Sister of the last *William* Beheaded, who was Stiled the fair Maid of *Galloway*. This Earl flourishing in Estate and Honours, and finding the King take the Administration of the Government upon himself, came to *Sterling*, and in a short time grew into high Favour with him; insomuch, that through his perswasion, the Chancellor and Governor were not only discharged from their Offices, but put out of the Council, and their Friends banished the Court, and themselves Summoned to appear before the King, and upon default proclaimed Rebels; so that now the Tables are quite turn'd. *Dowglas* Rules all, and the King suffers minority under him in his Just Age, as he really did under the others during his nonage; himself and his Kindred and Friends possessing all places of profit and Preferment in the Kingdom. But the Earl, having I know not what crochet in his brain, must needs go into *Italy*, and a Noble retinue he had with him; but leaves his Estate, during his absence to be managed by his Brother the Earl of *Ormond*. His back was no
sooner

sooner turned, but his Enemies set all their Engines on work to put him out of the Kings Favour and good Esteem, and prevailed so far upon him as to put out an unreasonable Summons, requiring the Earl to appear within forty Days, or else he should be put to the Horn, and so his Lands were seized on to the Kings hands. The Earl being advertised hereof, returns with all speed, and was again received into Favour: But happening to go into *England* without leave; this incensed the King highly against him, yet upon submission was again reconciled. But there was nothing could reconcile him and the Chancellor *Creichton*, envy brought them to make attempts upon each other's life, and at last the Earl was so put to it, that he was forced to flee out of *Edenburg* to save his own life; whereupon he enters into a Confederacy with his Friends for his own security, which together with some Depredations made in the Lord *Ferres* Lands, by some of the Earls Tenants without redress from him, upon Complaint made thereof, enraged the King to an high degree against him: But sore disorders still increasing through the Earls not punishing of the offenders; at last *Ferres* makes an inroad by way of reprisal into his Lands, was taken, and by the Earls command was put to Death; tho' the
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King by an Herault commanded the contrary ; so that upon serious Deliberation, the King finding his power unsufficient for curbing him, had no other way left, than to send to him in a most Courteous manner to come to him, who was then in *Sterling* Castle. The Earl, apprehensive of some design upon his Person, refused without he had an assurance of safe Conduct under the Kings great Seal ; which being Granted, he came, and was received with a great semblance of good Will by the King, who took him into a Room by themselves ; and there, after some other Admonitions, expostulated with him about the Confederacy he had entred into, with the Earl of *Crawford* and others, and would have urged him to forsake the same ; Alledging, it was no ways Honourable for him, but hurtfull, and tho' he took it very ill at his hands, yet he allowed him the Liberty to disanull it, tho' himself had full power to command it ; *Dorglass* was very obsequious in all things 'till this business of the League came in Question ; whereunto he did not Answer distinctly, but would have put it off 'till he had discoursed with his Confederates thereupon, neither could he well see at present what could be in that League which could be offensive to the King, that he should insist so much upon his breaking of it ; whereup-

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on the King, who it's likely had already determined to commit the perjur'd Fact, tho' his flattering Courtiers would have his displeasure only to arise from the Earls present stubbornness; said, if you will not, I will break it; and without any more ado, struck him with his Dagger in his breast, those that stood at the Door, hearing the bustle, rushed in and dispatched him by many wounds. His Brethren and Kindred being at first surprized and then exasperated at the horridness of the Fact, and the faithless proceedings of the King towards the Earl, flew to their Arms, and made no less than a Civil War of it, which was waged between the King and them with various Fortunes; at last the King prevailed, which brought great Destruction and Calamity upon that Noble Family of the *Dowglasses*: And then it was that King *James* began to Reign, as the Historian says, their greatness having been hitherto a Check upon him. But his Civil broils were scarce ended when he was brought to engage in the fatal controversy which happened in *England*, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. He at first sided with King *Henry VI.* against *Richard*, Duke of *York*; but afterward faced about, Upon the Duke's promise that *Cumberland* and other Lands should be restored unto him, that had
been

been in the possession of his Ancestors if the Duke prevailed, and so assisted the *Torkians* ; having therefore raised an Army, as he was entering into *England*, he was for a time diverted cunningly by an *English* Gentleman, who took upon him to be the Pope's Nuncio ; His Speech, Habit and Retinue were perfectly *Italian*, and to make the matter more plausible with the Cloak of Religion, he had a Monk along with him and so with the Popes Counterfeit Letters they approached to the King, and charged him to proceed on no farther, and threatened him, if he did, to curse him. For that the Pope to the end the War might be carried on against the Common Enemy of Christianity with greater vigor, having now Composed all differences in *Europe*, was set upon Accommodating this matter in *Britain* ; That they indeed were sent before, to preadmonish him, but that another Legate would quickly follow, with an Ample power to Compose the Civils Discords in *England*, and to procure satisfaction for the injuries sustained by the *Scots*. This bait took him, and so he Disbanded his Army ; But alas nothing could divert this Prince's now impending Fate, for being soon after advertised of the trick put upon him by the foresaid Counterfeit Nuncio, he re-assembles

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bles his Army, and because he could not directly Joyn with *York's* Forces, He marches to the Siege of *Roxborough*, and having quickly master'd the Town, lays close Seige to the Castle, which made a brave defence. The Duke and his Companions having in the mean time prevailed, sent to give King *James* thanks for his Assistance, desire him, now things were amicably terminated, to return home, lest the *English* being incensed, they should be forced to march against the *Scotch* Army. The King having received the Message, asked those that brought it, whether the Duke of *York* and his Friends said any thing in relation to the promises they had made, when he came into their Assistance, but finding no satisfaction in that point, he proceeds with great Fury to assault the Castle, and Batters the Walls with Cannon, which began then to be much used, as they were much dreaded; and being very forward and intent upon his work, one of his Guns being over-charged, burst, and a slice thereof struck the King dead to the ground, and hurt no other besides himself; a strang fatality that brought him to his end, when he had lived twenty nine Years, and of them Reigned twenty four. *Anno. 1460.* He left three Sons behind him, *James* that Succeeded him, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*,

bany, and *John Earl of Mar*, who were a plague to one another, while alive, and not one of them died a natural death, as we shall shew in its proper place.

*James
Stuart III.*
began his
Reign *An-*
no. 1460.

James III. (a Minor of seven Years old, as his Father before him) came to the Crown, and at first fell under the Care and Regency of his Mother, as did the whole Kingdom ; a Woman after the decease of her Husband, *James II.* that lead a Scandalous life, keeping one *Adam Hepborn*, who was himself a Married Man for her Gallant, but death put an end to her Lewdness and Government together, about three Years after : Then he came into the hands of the *Boys*, who Ruled the roast for a long time, but at last made a fatal Catastrophe ; he took to Wife *Margaret* Daughter to the King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, *Anno. 1469.* And about this time began to Exercise the Royal power himself : He involved himself at first with the Affairs of the Church, and not long after, became miserably enslaved with the predictions of Astrologers and Witches, to which he was strangely addicted and which brought not only destruction upon his kindred, but also at last upon himself, which we shall now prosecute as they fell out, in order. He was on a time, it seems, informed by some Sycophant or other, that his kindred laid in wait for his

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his life, and that he was in great danger ; which agreeing with the sayings of the Witches which he had Consulted, and who had told him, that the Lyon should be devoured by his Whelps, it made very deep impressions upon his suspicious mind, and so from a Prince at first very hopefull, and of great expectation, degenerated to a Monstrous Tyrant. So that now these suspicions having once possession of his mind, from henceforth he looked upon his neer Relations and almost all the best of the Nobility as his Enemies : The Nobility on the other hand finding none preferred by the K. but Men of base degree, were not a little dissatisfied, and began to alienate their Affections from him, wherefore they met together upon this occasion to concert measures how they might purge the Court of those abject Fellows, and reduce it to its former State of Grandeur. The principal of this Assembly were the Kings two Brothers, *Alexander* and *John* ; the latter whereof having discoursed of the Irregularities and the present State of that Kingdom somewhat frankly and liberally, and with less Caution than the rest, he was suddenly taken by night in his own House, by the Court Faction, and conveyed to a place called *Cragmiller*, and there Imprisoned by the King's order, and not long after, by the same Courtly Crew was adjudged to Die, and Executed

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Executed accordingly in the Cannon Gate, by cutting his Veins and letting him bleed to Death. And as they had thus barbarously murdered his Person they proceeded also to murder the Earls fame, for they gave out that his Crime was, that he had had Secret Consultation with Witches, about destroying the King, and to put as good a Colour as they could upon this unnatural Act, tho' it were by heaping up iniquity upon iniquity, they brought several other Witches and Sorcerers to their Tryal for the said Fact, and burnt them at *Eden-burg* for the same. So that here is one of the three Brothers dispatch'd, you'll here of the rest by and by. *Alexander* the other Brother, and Duke of *Albany*, tho he had neither acted nor said any thing that might Justly disgust either the King or Courtiers that were about him, yet as he was next of Kin so it seems he was next in danger; for these Blood-suckers mistrusting with themselves that they could ne'er be safe as long as he was alive, got him suddenly seized and sent Prisoner to *Eden-burg* Castle. He was kept close there by such as did believe his power might be Fatal to them, and finding there was no way by his Friends for to pacify the Kings displeasure, he had nothing to do now but to consider how he might make his escape, he

he had none to communicate his design to, or to further him in it, but one only Servant of his own that was left to be with him in his Chamber ; him he sent to get a Ship ready to attend him at the next Port, at the time appointed which he does effectually : In the mean time his persecutors to Plague him the more with their delusions, sent several Messengers from the Court, who feigned in the presence of his Keepers (for he was not allowed to talk with any privately) that the King's Anger began to be pacified, and that he might shortly hope for his Liberty ; but when the day appointed for his escape was come ; he puts as good a mean as possible he could upon the matter, and begins to feign a belief in what the Messengers said in Favour of him, and Questioned not but to have a speedy and honourable deliverance : And to further the Design, treats his Keepers with a splendid Supper, and Drinks with them till it was late at night ; but when they were gone and fast asleep, he falls to work, and makes a Rope of the Sheets of his Bed, long enough as he thought to reach the ground ; and first for to make a Tryal therof, lets down his Man by it, by whose fall he finds it was shorter then it should have been. Having therefore lengthened the Rope as much as the present Circumstance would admit,

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he follows his Man, who in his descent had broke his Leg, takes him up upon his back and carries him about a mile, to the Sea-side, and having got a Favourable Wind, set sail for *Dumbarton*, and from thence, having first well secured the Castle, he sailed into *France*. The Duke was honourably received in *France* and Married the Earl of *Bologn's* Daughter ; but upon the Death of his Wife, who lived not long with him, finding Affections cool towards him, he goes over into *England*, and was entertained by *Edward III.* then King of *England*; who assisted him with an Army to invade *Scotland*, under the Command of his Brother, *Richard Duke of Gloucester*. King *James* makes all the Force he could to oppose them, but being Governed by his former Councells, the Nobility took it in high disdain, and therefore they met together in the Church of *Lowder*, where the King and his Army then were, to deliberate what they should do in such a conjuncture. Where *Archibald Dowglass*, Earl of *Angus*, takes upon him to set forth the occasion of their meeting, which he did in a very pathetick Speech, and shew'd at large all the enormities of the King's Reign down to the present time ; the danger they then stood in from a Foreign Army, and therefore exhorts them first to shake off the

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Domestick Yoke of servitude they were under, before they Engaged with the Enemy, &c. this Oration wrought so effectually upon their minds, that they were immediately ready to run in headlong into the Pallace without any Consideration of what they were to do; But the principal Men amongst them appeasing the tumult, advised that a sufficient number should only enter in without any shew of Commotion, and take out the Criminals, lead them to Judgment, and Punish them according to Law. In the mean time, while these things were in Agitation, comes a Rumour into the Court, that the Nobles held a Consultation together before day in the Church, the subject whereof was uncertain, but that it must be strange that such Men should Assemble together without the King and his Councillors Knowledge: The King hereupon being hastily awoken out of his sleep, enquires of those about him, what he had best to do; in the mean time he sends *Cockram* before to observe what was done, and to give him an Account of all with speed; he with a few followers goes towards the Church, and meets the cheif of the Nobility advancing towards the Court, whom they no sooner espied, but *Douglass* laid hands on him and catching hold of a large Gold Chain he had about his neck,

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squeezed him first a little and then sends him to Prison, himself with the rest going directly to the King's Bed-Chamber: Where, when they came, they filled all with Astonishment, so as that there seemed to be a little pause upon the matter for the present, but it was not long e're they seized upon the Kings Evil Counsellors that were about him, and sent them all away save only *John Ramsay*, a very young man that clung to the King, and who intreated for him that he might be spared. The rest were lead to Judgment, and with the loud cries of the Army calling for Justice upon those miscreants, were hanged out of the way; and such forwardness was shewed to have them dispatched speedily, that when they wanted Ropes upon such a sudden occasion every one was ready to offer his Horses Halter or the Reins of his Bridle for that purpose. These Wretches were charged with many private injuries, and among the more publick ones was, their advising the King to Coin base Copper Money, which the Common people by way of reproach, called *Black-Money*, and that this was the principal cause of the scarcity that was in the Land, the want of Trade, and many other Calamities too long to be incerted. To the Kings charge was laid the unjust death of the Earl of *Mar*, his Brother,

ther, his advancing of *Cockram* a Mason to the said Earldom, his practising of Magick and resolvedness to destroy his Relations. This done, they returned to *Edenburg* and appointed the King himself to be kept in the Castle of the said City, by the E. of *Atholl*, and in the mean time they send to the *English* Army for a Cessation of Arms for three Months. The Duke of *Albany* was honourably received into his Country again and had the Castle of *Dunbar* with the Earldoms of *March* and *Mar* conferred upon him and was withal Proclaimed the Kings Lieutenant General.

While things were in this state, the *English* take the Castle of *Berwick*, the Town having been surrendered to them before; The Duke of *Albany* making a faint of relieving the same, but did nothing. At length the Duke accompanied with the Chancellor, Archbishop of *St. Andrews* and others, went to *Sterling* to pay the Queen and Prince a visit; they had not been there long when the Queen entering into a secret Conference with the Duke (unknown to the rest) about the King's Confinement; and urging how noble and generous, as well as advantageous an act it would be in him to imploy his power for his releasement, he consents to the undertaking; and so returning to *Edenburg*, besieged the Castle and took it.

remov'd the Earl of *Arbol*, and so sets the King and all his Servants at liberty ; for which extraordinary favour, the King shewed him great tokens of his affections, but they were not long-lived ; for the remembrance of old offences are of greater force in a degenerous and impotent mind than fresh kindneses. And to foment his jealousies, he had always those at his Elbow, who never ceased to upbraid the Duke to him, of affecting too much popularity, and to construe the same as an infallible sign of his intentions to snatch at the Crown when ever a fit opportunity presented. The Duke, who was not ignorant of those jealousies, entertained of him, and at last finding there was a design formed against him, of no less than taking away his Life, and that (as appeared) by poyson, withdraws privily into *Dunbar* Castle : And the King, as conscious of his evil doings, fearing the displeasure of his Nobles, hereupon withdraws also into the Castle of *Edenburg* ; where the Earls of *Angus*, *Buchan* and others forsook him, and assisted the Duke ; But the King being haunted still by his Evil Spirits (I mean) those vile fellows, whom he had again placed about his Person, he summoned the Duke and his adherents, to appear and answer for such treasonable Crimes as he had to lay to their Charge, and withall prepared an Army to Besiege

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Dunbar, which the Duke having notice off, he flies into *England*: And afterwards being accompanied with the Earl of *Dowglas* and others was engaged to invade the *Marches* of his own Country, but meeting with ill success, and being checked by the King of *England* for his ill Conduct, he grew fullen thereupon, and withdrew secretly into *France*; where not long after, according to the usual fate of his Family, running at Tilts with *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, he was wounded with the splinter of a Spear, and thereof Dyed. So that here is two of them gone, the fate of the third is now approaching, with winged hast; For the King having once got a Peace with the *English*, and the Castle of *Dunbar* into his hands, which seemed for some time to put a check upon his exorbitance, he returns to his old haunts, gives himself over not only to be guided by Favourites and mean Persons as before, who were his Leeches to drain his Subjects, to satiate his covetous desires, but to unlawful pleasure with loose Women: Among the men Favourites *John Ramsey* saved (as you have heard before) by the Kings importunity from an Halter, was chief: This Man having been advanced to the dignity of Lord Stuard of the King's Houshold, and endowed with many large demesns, became so elated in mind, that not being content

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with that large fortune, nothing would serve, but he must have an order that none besides himself and his Companions should go armed in those places where the King resided, designing by this devise to fortifie himself and his Faction against the Nobility of the Kingdom, whom he found to go frequently armed themselves, and accompanied with such as were well provided for their defence: But this Edict procured him more hatred, than it wrought fear in his Enemies. In the meantime the King minded nothing as much as to gratifie his mind with the blood of those, who were thought to be the Authors of Rebellion: And seeing he could not bring about his purposes, he endeavours to surprize them by cunning, for feigning to be reconciled to one of them after another, he entertained them with that gentleness, and in so soothing a manner as came below the Dignity of a Prince to do. Others of them who excelled in Riches and Power, he accumulated with Rewards and Honours, making *David Lindsey* Earl *Crawford*, Duke of *Montross*; and *George* Earl of *Angus* he would have frequently in his Company, carrying it so, by communicating his secret Counsels unto him, as if he were throughly reconciled. But his Rewards and Blandishments had but little effect upon any of them, in respect to any opini-

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on of his Sincerity ; for they who knew his disposition doubted not but all that semblance of Goodness and Favour tended to no other end than either to surprize them, one after another, or to set them at variance one against another, which when he had got the chief of Nobility to *Edenburg* did more clearly appear ; for having sent for *Dowglas* to him into the Castle, he shewed him what a brave opportunity he now had to be revenged on them, for if he did but secure the Heads of the Factions and punish them, the rest would be quiet : That if he lett his opportunity that presented it self, slip, he could never afterward hope for such another. *Dowglas*, who well knew that the Kings mind was as implacable towards him as the rest of them, cunningly discusses that rash and evil Counsel ; arguing with him, what a base and flagitious offence all the world would look upon it to be, if he should without due Process of Law, suddenly hale to execution so many Illustrious Persons, to whom he was reconciled, as having given his Royal Word for pardoning of what was past, and that not long since, and now secur'd with the Publick Faith ; for the fierce and enraged minds of Enemies, would not be broken with the ruine of a few, and coming once to despair of Pardon, they would turn their wrath into fury, and the consequence of that would be, that they would grow more stobborn and obstinate

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stinate, and less value the King's Authority, and their own lives; and if your Highness will take my Counsel, continued the Earl, I'll put you in a way, whereby to save the King's Honour and Dignity, and that revenge may at the same time be prosecuted: For I having gathered my Friends and Tenants together, will openly and in the day time lay hold of them; and then you may try them where you will, and punish them as you please; and this will be not only more Honourable, but also more safe for the King, than if they should be killed at unawares in the Night, as it were by Thiefs. The King believing the Earl spoke what he thought (for he knew well enough, that he was able to perform what he promised) he gave him many thanks for his advise, and dismissed him laden with large Promises of Reward. The Earl having warned the Peers to take care of their safety, and to withdraw from the imminent danger that hang over their Heads, does himself also retire to a place of safety.

The King from hence forwards finding his secret Counsels laid open, and not daring to trust any body, betook himself to the Castle of *Edenburg*; and from thence being conveyed by Sea to the Countries beyond the *Forth*, which still were obedient to him, did in a short time levy a good Army. And now the Nobility

lity, who before designed nothing, but that the King should amend in his male administration, finding all accommodation with him desperate, and his evil disposition incurable, bend all their Counsels to remove him. A bad Steward (its most certain) he had been, and now they are resolved to call him to a severe account for the same. The great difficulty that stood in their way, and, which they were deliberating to remove, was, whom they should appoint to be their Captain, who when the King were brought to a compliance, might be constituted Vicegerent of the Kingdom: It was adjudged highly necessary it should be a person, that was pleasing to the Commonality, of an Illustrious Name, That the Faction might not be oppressed and weakned out of an envy to his Greatness; and at last after they had thought of one and another, they pitched unanimously upon the King's own Son, the Prince of *Scotland*, who being taken from his Keepers and Governours of his tender years, was urged to a speedy compliance, for if otherwise, they were resolved to transfer the Kingdom into the hands of the King of *England*, who would take care to root out him and his Family for the better security of it. Now the King had past over the *Forth*, and pitched his Tents at a place called *Blackness*, and the Sons Army, ready prepared to give
Battle

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Battle were not a far off : But by the mediation of the Earl of *Arbol* the King's Uncle, things were at present brought to an accommodation, and *Arbol* himself was delivered as an *Hostage*, to *Adam Hepburn* Earl of *Bethwell*, in whose custody he remained till the K. death, which now was not far off. But the agreement as being between such as had an incurable jealousy of one another, did not last long : In the mean time Couriers and Mediators past continually from one to another, at last the Lords gave determinate answer; That seeing the King acted nothing sincerely with an intention to perform, they adjudged it better to be engaged in a certain War than a delusive and treacherous Peace ; That the only hopes of agreement was if the King would Abdicate the Throne, and have his Son advanced in his room ; if not, it would be to no purpose for them to try and frustrate one another with Conferences : The King not to be wanting to himself in this desperate Fortune, orders his Embassadors in *England* and *France*, to communicate this answer to those Kings, whom he earnestly solicites to make use of their Authority, or if need were, their Forces too in his behalf, for the repressing of the insolence of a few Rebels, and reduce them to Reason and their Duty, and to esteem his Fortune common with their to own, and such as might by the Contagion thereof easily

easily creep to other Nations : He sent also to *Eugenius* III. Pope of *Rome*, to intreat him out of his Paternal care and love to the *Scorish* Name and Nation, to send a Legate into *Scorland* to enforce the Rebels, according to the Authority of his Holiness's Power and Jurisdiction, to lay down their Arms and obey their King. The Pope having one *Adrian Casfilean* for his Legate in *England*, a Man of great Learning and Prudence, he Writes to him to use his endeavour to compose the *Scotch* Affairs, and bring them to a settlement. But this came a day after the fare ; for the Lords who knew well enough that these proceedings of the King abroad were in agitation, and withall that his mind was implacable towards them, resolved, before he should have an opportunity to augment the number of his Forces, to try it out by Arms ; and though they had the Kings Son with them, as well to manifest their Authority to the Common People, as to shew that they were not angry with or had no quarrel against their Country, but a pernicious King, who would have ruined them ; yet least the minds of the people should be alienated by the cunning of forreign Ambassadors and other accidents that attend procrastination, they were busied night and day how to commit all to the hazard of a Battle : But the Kings timorousness was
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an obstacle to their eagerness and haste, who because he had ordered considerable Levies to be made, for the augmentation of the Troops he had on foot already, in the northern parts of the Kingdom, did in the mean time keep himself close within the Castle of *Edenburg*: But that he might precipitate his fate, he was brought by his Followers, whether designedly or ignorantly is uncertain, to forsake this wholesome Counsel which he looked upon to be safest for him; for they perswaded him, that by reason of the frequent tides there, which might cause delay and danger to them that were about to meet together; it were more adviseable he should go to *Sterling* Castle, the best situated place of any, for gathering of Forces together out of all parts of the Kingdom: That he would be as safe there as in *Edenburg* Castle, seeing his Enemies were unprepared of all things necessary for a Siege, That his Fleet also which he had prepared to be an help to him at all adventures, might be at hand: This advice did indeed seem to be sound and real, and had been safe enough in all probability in the event, had it not been that the Governour of the Castle being corrupted by the opposite Faction, excluded him from admittance: And now all things conspire to his ruin, for the Lords were now at his heels, that he could not possibly

bly retire to the Castle of *Edenburg* again, and the Forces raised by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Errol*, *Arbol* and diverse other Noblemen who stuck to him, and which, they said, amounted to the number of Forty Thousand Men, being not yet come up, he would not stay for them, and so with those Forces he had with him hazards a Battle: The Battle was at first very fierce, and the first Wing of the Nobles Army gave way, but the *Annandalians* and their Neighbours, who inhabite the Western parts of *Scotland*, press hard upon the Kings Forces, and with their huge Spears, much longer than their Adversaries, quickly broke the King's main Body, who finding now it was in vain to stand it, and being injured with the fall of his Horse, retires to a Mill that was not far off from the place of attle, with a design, as was thought, to get aboard his Ships which were not far off, where being taken with a few more he was slain: It's not fully agreed who killed him, but pursued he was to the foresaid place by *Patrick Grey*, *Sterling Kerry*, and a Priest whose name was *Borthick*; and who, it was said, being asked by the King for a Confessor, roughly replied, *That though he was no good Priest, yet he was a good Liech*, and with that stab'd him to the Heart: And here you see how contemptible the Majesty of a Prince is, that is sullied with degenerate actions;

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actions; and there was this further ignominy affixed to his Death, That it was enacted in the next Sessions of Parliament, that he Justly suffered, and strictly forbidden that any who had bore Arms against him or thier descendants, should be upbraided therewith. Young he was, being about 35 years when he died, and of them had Reigned near Twenty Eight, in the year of our Lord 1488.

James Stuart IV. began his Reign An. 1488.

The Son who had headed this Army, is now advanced to the Father's Throne, and known by the name of *James the IV.* being then about Sixteen years of Age. *Wood*, who Commanded the Ships before mentioned, was with great difficulty brought to submit, and did afterward this King great Service; who it seems had some remorse for his contributing so much to his Fathers Death, for in token thereof he wore continually an Iron Chain about his middle, all the days of his life, made frequent visits to Religious places, &c. all which methinks seems to have been put upon him by some crafty Priest, tho Historians are silent in that particular; but he had hardly been warm in his Throne, when those Nobles that were of his Father's Party, sent their Emiffaries to all the parts of the Kingdom, and exhort one another, not to endure the present

sent state of things ; That so many brave Men should not suffer such publick parricides who had mured one King, and kept the other in servitude, so proudly to illude them, and to charge them with being guilty of High-Treason, who fought for the King's defence and safety ; but that they should arrogate to themselves who were violators of all Divine and Humane Laws, the title of being defenders of the Honour and Dignity of the Commonwealth, and preservers of their Country, in whose hands the King himself was not free ; as being enforced, first to take up Arms against his Father and King, and having wickedly slain him, to prosecute his Father's Friends, and such as engaged in his defence by an unjust and Cruel War, that was intollerable. When many things of this nature had been bandyed about amongst the Common People, *Alexander Forbes*, to excite in them a greater hatred towards the present Administration, caused the dead King's bloody Shirt to be hung up on a long Pole, and exposed publicly at *Aberdeen*, and other places where there was great concourse of People ; This being as it were a publick Edict to stir up all Men to revenge so foul a Deed. Nay, many of them who had engaged with them actually in the slaughter, finding that all things did not go as they

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would have it, now joyned with these Malecontents. And as things were transacted in these parts about *Aberdeen* much to the new King's prejudice, *Matthew Stewart* Earl of *Levins*, a popular and potent Man in his Country, summons all such as he had influence over, this side the *Forth*, to come to him, and having raised a good body of Men, finding he could not make his way over *Sterling* Bridge, which was guarded by the Royalists, he hastens towards a Ford, not far from the River-head, at the foot of *Mount Grampias*, with a design to joyn with his Friends in those parts: Now when *John Drummond* had notice hereof by *Alexander Mac Alpin* his Tenant, and who had joyned the Enemy, and found plainly, that all things were so careless and secure in the Enemies Camp, that they dispersed themselves up and down as every one pleased, and had no Centry, nor Scouts, and destitute of all Military Order and Discipline; he immediately with the Courtiers and a few Volunteers he had with him, sets upon them un-a-ware and in a manner all asleep; which was in too many of them continued by Death, the rest unarm'd run back headlong from whence they came, and many were made Prisoners, but some known Friends and Acquaintance

quaintance were let go, they were severe only upon such as wrote or spoke very contumeliously of the Government; and so this storm blew over, and not long after a Parliament was called, wherein past a general Act of Indemnity, so that now nothing was expected here but *Halcyon Days*, but a Storm quickly arose which terribly shook not only this, but the Kingdom of *England* also, by one *Perkin Warbeck's* pretending himself to be *Richard Duke of York*, and second Son to King *Edward IV.* and so to have an undoubted Right to the Crown of *England.* He came over from *France* into *Scotland* and possessed this King so far with a belief of his Right and the Justice of his Cause, that he not only gave him the Lady *Margaret*, the Earl of *Huntley's* Daughter, for a Wife; but also raised an Army to defend his Cause, which took up some Years of his Reign little enough to his or the Kingdoms Commodity and Advantage. At last a Truce for some Years was agreed on between him and the King of *England*, and the Consequence of that was first orders for *Perkin*, of whom you may read at large in my Lord *Bacon's* History of *Henry VII.* to depart the Realm of *Scotland*; then a Marriage between King *James* and the Lady *Margaret*, *Henry VIII's* Daughter,

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Daughter, and lastly a Peace between both Kings during their Lives. This Kings Reign is remarkable upon many accounts, which being not the scope of this Treatise, we designedly omit : But one passage I meet with in *Lesley's* History of this Kingdom, which for the rarity of it I cannot omit, and hope the Reader will not think it an Impertinent Digression. About this time, says the aforesaid Author, The King (to tell you a business that to this day is remembred with great Laughter among the *Roman* people) created a certain *Italian*, with whose Wit and Pleasant Conversation he was much taken, Abbot of *Tungland* ; This man, thinking to magnifie his own parts, did on a certain time perswade the King, that he was so well skilled in the Secrets of Nature and more especially in the noble Science of Chimistry, that he could transmute any other Metal into Gold, if the King would please to bear the Charges thereof ; But after much Time and Treasure spent, and long Expectation of this Glorious Effect, all proved Abortive, and came to nothing ; so that the vain Braccadocio fell into great contempt both by the King and People, which grieved him very sore ; so that he sets all his Wits on work how he might do somewhat that might
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regain his fame in the world, and at the same, recover the King's Favour. At last he gave out a Report, that he would by flying be in *France*, before the Kings Ambassadors, who were sent thither and were then actually under sail, to pursue their Voyage; and that this might not be all talk without any Performance, he boldly appointed a Day and Place, which was *Sterling* from whence to begin his flight, the noise whereof brought (you may be sure) a great concourse of People together, among whom was the King himself.

When the Time was come, the man gets up to the Top of *Sterling* Castle, and having fastned the Wings which he had made of the Feathers of several Fowls, to his sides, he lifts himself into the Air, thinking to pursue his course. But alas, he came quickly down headlong to the ground, his Wings availing him nothing, whereupon the people, who knew not whether they should rather Rebuke his Presumption, or Pity his Misfortune, flocked about him, and asked him how he did, he made Answer that he had broken his Thigh-bone, and despaired of ever flying any more, at which they all laughed their fill: But this *Scarrus*, to salve the matter, laid the fault of his flying wholly upon his Wings,

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because they were not made of Eagles Feathers and the like, but only of Poultry which were not fit to cut the Air with flight, and which by a certain innate Virtue, operating according to the Nature of those Fowl, drew the Feathers downwards to the Dunghill where those Birds fed.

But to re-assume the Thread of our Story, things continued in a tollerable state of Tranquillity, till the death of *Henry VII.* the King's Father-in-law; but *Henry VIII.* a young, ambitious, and active Prince, had not long mounted the *English* Throne, when he makes Preparation, to recover his Right in the Kingdom of *France*. The *French King* to fortifie himself as much as possible against the impending Storm, requir'd Aid of the King of *Scotland*; who, by his Embassadors, would have accommodated Matters, and perswaded both Kings to a Peace: But King *Henry* persisting in his Resolution, the *Scot.* won by *French* Promises of Money and Ammunition, joyns with them in League against *England*; and because the *English* Commissioners appointed to accommodate the Differences between both Nations, about some Irregularities and Depredations, committed upon the Borders, would not come up to their Terms, *James* takes this occasion to send *Lyon* King at Arms to King *Hen-*

ry, by this time besieging *Termin*, with Letters of Complaints, commanding him, for want of satisfying the Contents of the said Letters, to denounce War against *England*. When *Henry* had read the Letters, and advised with his Council thereupon, he told the Herauld he would make him answer, If he would promise faithfully to declare the same to his Master; *Lyon* replied, *Whatever his Master commanded him to say to others, that he was obliged to do, and would; but for the Commands of others to his Master, therein he desired to be excused, but added, your Highness Letters that declare your Pleasure, I am willing to carry, tho' your Answer requires doing, and not saying, I mean, that you should immediatly return home:* The King sharply retorted, *I'll return at my own Pleasure to your Damage, and not at thy Master's Summons;* and so delivers him a Letter to carry to his Master, importing he had receiv'd his Full of frivolous Complaints, which had been sufficiently answer'd before, sharply sets forth the baseness of the *Scotch Nation*, but says at the same time it was always their Ancestors custom, to invade his Dominions in his absence, which they never offered nor durst do while he was within the Land; but however that he had taken caution for his security, and would not desist from his pre-

sent enterprize, which the *Scotch* King had nothing to do with, as being no Competent Judge (for so the words are) of so high Authority to require him in that behalf, &c. But before the Herault arrived, and the Letters could be delivered, King *James* had precipitated his own fall at *Floddenfield*.

For having dispatched Commissions for the raising of Forces, he determines to put himself at the head of them before they were fully Completed; but first goes to a place called *Limuch* and there heard even Song, as they called it, where after he had entred the Chappel, came an old man to him, whose hair was somewhat of a vellow red hanging down over his Shouldiers, his Forehead high with Baldness, bare Headed, clad in a Blewish Garment with a white Girdle, and had a very Reverend Countenance, and said; 'King I am sent to admonish thee that thou go not forward to the place which thou hast determined, which warning if thou dost despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and all such as shall attend thee: Further I am Com-manded, to give thee Intelligence before-hand, that thou eschew the familiarity and Custom or Counsell of Women, if thou do otherwise, it shall tend to thy Dishonour and Hurt: And when
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he had so said, he mingled himself with other Company, and when Prayers were over, and that the K. sought for him, he could by no means be found; for he was never seen after the delivery of this Message, which seemed the more strange, because that many who stood near him, and observing all he said, and intent to hear more from him, could not perceive his departure; of which Number *David Linsey*, a Person of known Virtue and approved Reputation, was one, who told me the same (saith *Buchanan*) of a most certain truth, or else I would have past it over for a Fable, handed down to us by Common Fame.

But no premonitions from Heaven, nor Advises upon Earth could divert the Career of this willfull Prince, but on he goes towards *Edenburg*, and there takes a review of his Army, and hastily marches towards the *English* Borders; takes in several lesser places, and Ravages the nighest parts of *Northumberland*. In the mean time the King quite contrary to the premonition aforesaid being ensnared with the Beauty of a Noble Captive, (she was *Hern's* Wife of *Ford*) neglected Military Discipline, and his Army lying idle, and in a Barren Country where Provisions were very

ry scarce ; a great part of them in discontent, disband and forsake the Service ; so that there were none but the Nobles with their Kindred and a few Tenants that staid behind : For the greater part were of opinion, they should not tarry any longer in a Country that was so Poor, and withal, Plundered, but rather to Besiege *Berwick*, which they had left behind them ; since the taking thereof alone would be much more Honourable and advantagious than all the adjacent Garrisons ; and that the taking thereof would not be difficult, seeing the Town and Castle were unprovided to make any considerable resistance. The King who supposed there was nothing too hard for his Arms, especially now the *English* were employed in the *French* Wars, and being buoy'd up by the flattery of his Courtiers, judged he could do that easily in his return ; but while he lay loitering at *Ford*, came an *English* Herauld into his Camp, requiring him to appoint a day and place where both Armies might give Battle ; whereupon the King calls a Councell of War, wherein the greatest part were of opinion that it was most advisable they should return home, least they might with so small a Force hazard the State of the whole Country, especially seeing they

they had already obtained sufficient Renown, Glory, and Riches, and fully satisfied the League of Friendship made with the *French*; neither could there be any appearance of reason, that they who were now so much diminished in their number, and so weakned with the Fatigues they had undergone, should now be exposed to so great a multitude of *English* daily increasing with Re-inforcements; for it was Rumored then, that the Lord *Thomas Howard* was arrived in the *English* Camp with Six Thousand old Soldiers from before *Turwin*.

And for the further inforcing hereof, it was moreover added, That if the King did depart, the *English* Army must necessarily seperate, and could not be drawn together that Year again, as being to march from the remotest Parts of the Kingdom: But and if the King must needs fight, that then it were more advisable he should do it in his own Kingdom, keeping the appointment both of the Time and Place, always in his own Power; But when the *French* Ambassador and such Mercenary Courtiers as took *French* Pensions, opposed these Arguments, the King, who was eager for Battle and to hasten his own Ruin, was easily perswaded to wait for the Enemy,
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in that Place. In the mean time when the *English* did not advance and engage at the day appointed by the Herault; the *Scotch* Nobility laid hold of the opportunity afresh to go to the King, before whom they laid the matter home again; Alledging, That the reason why they declined Battle, was an Artifice of the Enemy only to gain time 'till all their Forces were come together, while the *Scotch* dwindled away more and more; and therefore it was high time they should have recourse to the like Policy, and since the Enemy failed of their word, it was no ways disgracefull to the *Scots* either to return into their own Country without giving them Battle, or to Fight within their own Limits; of which Council the first was infallibly the best, but if that were not approved off, there was abundant reason for to execute the latter; for seeing that the River *Till* was not foardable for some Miles space, and could not be past by the Army but by one Bridge, there a few might be able to resist a great multitude; besides, if part of the *English* Army were past the Bridge, the same might easily be broken, by Engines conveniently placed for that purpose, so as to obstruct the passage of the rest, to relieve them who of necessity must be cut

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to peices. But so was the King taken with his own Conceit, that you had as good have talked to a dead Man as to him, upon this head; And therefore he slightly said, *That if the English Army were an Hundred Thousand strong, he would Fight them.* With which rash Answer the Nobility were very much displeased.

Whereupon *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, a Man that far excelled the rest of the Nobles, both in Years and Authority, endeavoured in a gentle Oration to alter the King's Resolutions, enlarges upon and shews the reasonableness and advantage of the former Counsells given him by the Nobility; for he made it appear, that the King had been punctual in the League with *France* and gratified their Request, in that he had now turned the *English* Arms before bent against the *French*, against himself, and against his own Country; and had so ordered his own Affairs, that those great Armies should neither injure *France*, nor endamage *Scotland*, seeing they were not long able to keep the field in those cold Countries and a Barren Soyl, Unfurnished of necessaries for the support of Life through the Calamy of the late Wars, and which at best produced but little Corn; but Winter was drawing near
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which in those Northern parts was felt betimes. And (continued the Earl) as for the *French* Ambassadors urging of us to come to a Battle, I cannot think that should be looked upon as either new or strange by us, that a Foreigner who hath no respect to the publick good of this Kingdom, but to the private interest of his own Nation, should be so lavish of other Mens Blood : And besides, his Request is unreasonable and impudent ; for he would have the *Scots* do that which the *French* King, a Person of the highest Prudence, thinks not fit to do for his own Kingdom and Honour ; neither should the miscarriage of this Army be looked upon by him as a small loss, because they were not so numerous ; for all those are here, who excell either in Virtue, Authority and Counsell ; and if these be once lost, the surviving Commonalty will become an easy prey to the Conquerors. What, is it not at present safer and withal more profitable to protract the War? For if *Lewis* thinks that the *English* can either be exhausted by Expences, or wearied with delay, what can be better, as to the present State of things, than for us to enforce the Enemy to divide their Forces, that we may keep one part of their Army to watch and look after our motion, making a continual shew of our
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readiness to make Incurfions, and by putting of them under a constant apprehension thereof, ease the burden of the *French* by our Labour and Vigilancy ; and I think those men, who I fear, are more Valiant in Words than in Actions, have sufficiently Consulted for their Glory and Renown under which names they would couch their own temerity ; for what could have been more honourable for the King, than to have rased so many strong Holds, wasted all with Fire and Sword, and to carry away so great Booty, that several Years Peace will not be able to reduce the Country to its former state ; And what greater benefit can we expect from the War, than that amidst such clashing of Armor and noise of War, we should enjoy Rest with Wealth and Glory, to our greatest Praise and Commendation by refreshing our own Soldiers, and to the ignominy and shame of the Enemy ? For that sort of Victory which is won more by Counsel than by Arms, is a property of Man, but more peculiarly agreeable to the Conduct of a great Captain, in regard that the Soldiers can claim no manner of share therein. Tho' all that were present discovered by their Faces, their Consent hereunto ; Yet it made no impressions upon the King, who had solemnly Swore
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and was now fully bent to Fight, and so he Command *Dowglass*, if he was afraid of his life to return home. The Earl finding things thus precipitated through the Kings temerity, and foreseeing the dreadful Event, burst forth into Tears; and as soon as he was able to Speak, said, If the former course of my Life did not sufficiently Vindicate my Reputation from the opinion of Cowardice, I know of no other reasons whereby to purge my self; I am sure while this Body was able to endure the Toils of War and other Fatigues, I have never been sparing to imploy the same, for the Honour of my King and Good of my Country; But seeing my Counsells wherein alone I can now be useful, are despised, I'll leave my two Sons, who next my Country are dearest to me, and the rest of my Friends and Kindred, as a certain pledge of my good Will towards you and the publick good; and I pray unto God these my fears may prove False and Abortive, and that I may rather be accounted a false Prophet, than that what I fear and seem to behold should come to pass. When he had thus spoken, he packs up his Baggage and Departs; the rest of the Nobles seeing they could not draw the King to be of their mind, Judged it ought to be their
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next care, seeing they were inferior in number to the Enemy (for they had learned by their Scouts that the *English* Army was six and twenty Thousand strong) was to fortify themselves by taking advantage of the ground, and so to pitch their Camp on the adjacent Hill, which was hard of access and which they fortified almost round with Cannon; in the Rear they had Hills, from the Foot of which to the East was a Marsh that secured their Left Wing, and on their Right they had the River *Till*, with high Banks over which was a Bridge, not far from the Camp. The *English* when they found by their spies, that there was no approaching of the *Scotch* Camp without manifest danger, wheeled off from the River, and made as if they marched toward *Berwick* and from thence straight to the adjacent part of *Scotland* to Ravage the Country, and a Rumour of such a design increased the suspicion thereof; Which Rumour was some Days before spread abroad, whether rashly or purposely feigned by the *English*, that they might decoy the *Scots* from their strong Holds down into the Plains. King *James* thinking that not to be endured, sets Fire to his Camp and Marched; The smoke blinded the *English* so as that they could not discern

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cern the Enemy Marching ; but at last both Armies came to *Flodden Hills* almost unknown to one another. There the *English* March their Artillery over the Bridge and their Army past the Ford at *Milford*, and so draw up their Army in Battalia, as the situation of the ground, would admit, but in two Bodies ; seeming to have a design to cuff off the *Scots* Provision. In the first Army the main Body was Commanded by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Admiral, who not long before was come with a strong Re-inforcement to the Army ; the Right Wing by *Edmund Howard*, and the Left by *Marmaduke Constable*. The other body was so posted as if they had been for reserves, and also drawn up in a tripartite division, the Right being Commanded by *Tacres*, the Left by *Stanley*, and the Main Body by the Earl of *Surrey*, who was General of the whole Army. The *Scots* made a forefold distribution of their Army, whereof the King himself Commanded the Main Body, *Alexander Gordon* and *Alexander Humes* the Right Wing, *Mathew Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*, *Campell*, Earl of *Argile* the Left : And *Hepborn* with the rest of the Nobility of *Lowthian*, Commanded the reserves. *Gordon* begins the Battle and quickly routed the Left Wing of the *English*

English Army, but returning from the Chase he found the remainder of his Wing almost cut to pieces. For the left Wing Commanded by *Lennox* and *Argile*, being elated at their Success, fell on Pell-Mell without keeping their Ranks upon the Enemy, leaving their Ensigns behind them : The *French* Ambassador doing all that ever he could to keep them back, as foreseeing, they rushed on headlong to their inevitable ruin ; But the *English* stood the shock with undaunted Bravery, and adding cunning to their Valour, wheeled a body of their Men about, which fell upon the Rear of this disorderly Rout and almost kill'd every Man of them. In the mean time the Main Body where the King was, with the reserves Commanded by *Hepborn*, fought with great obstinacy, but at last were Routed, but night coming on hindred the pursuit. Next morning the Earl of *Surrey* sent out *Dacres* with a Party of Horse to learn Intelligence, who coming to the field of Battle and finding the *Scotch* Artillery without any Guard upon them, and the greatest part of the slain unstripped, he acquaints the General therewith ; who sets his Army loose to ransack the Camp, and afterwards Celebrated the Victory with utmost Joy. And now we come to tell you of the

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Kings Fate himself : Our *English* Historians generally agree that he was slain in this Battle; the *Scots* for the most part oppose it ; Urging, that the Body which was rifled in the field and taken to be his, was not so, but the Body of one *Alexander Elphinstone*, a young Gentleman resembling the King both in Visage and Stature, whom the King (that he might delude those that pursued him, and at the same time also with his own presence animate those that fought elsewhere) had caused with all Tokens of Royalty to be Armed and Apparelled like himself : But (says my *English* Author *Bishop Goodin*) not to make use for an Argument the great number of Nobility that Guarded their true King and consequently that their Counterfeit ones fought elsewhere ; Its manifest that his Body was known by many of the Prisoners, who certainly affirmed, that it could be no other than the King's, tho' by the Multitude of his Wounds it were very much disfigured ; for his Neck was laid open in the midst thereof with a long Wound, his left Arm almost cut off in two several places, could scarce hang to his Shoulder, and had been besides shot through several parts of his Body with Arrows ; and this seems to have the greatest appearance

ance of truth in it, tho' what *Buchanan* and others his Countrymen, alledge, is not improbable, viz. That after the King found the Battle encline to the *English* without any hopes of retrieving it, he passed the *Tweed* and near *Kelso* was slain by *Hume's* followers; it remaining uncertain, whether it was done by his Command, or that these *Russians* thinking to gratify the humour of their Patron, were in hopes when the King was once cut off, they might transact what villany they pleased impunedly, but if he survived, they were in great apprehensions of being called to a severe account for their tardiness during the Battle. To which they also add other conjectures; that the very night after the Battle, the Monastery of *Kelso* was seized by one *Carr* a confident of *Hume*, and the Abbot chasheered, which, its likely, he durst not have attempted, if he had known the King had been alive: But these things are so uncertain, says *Buchanan*, that when *Hume* was afterward called to an Account, and Tryed for the Fact, by the Earl of *Murrey*, the King's base Son; it came to nothing, they were not able to prove it upon him, but withal adds, that

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Lawrence Faliser, a Person of integrity, but then a Lad and spectator of of the Action did often affirm to him, that he had seen the King on Horse Back pass the *Tweed* ; and hence many took occasion to report (which lasted many years) that the King was alive, and would appear in due time, after he had pay'd his vow of going to *Jerusalem* to view the Holy Sepulchre. But this favours too much like the legendary Story of *Arthur* of old, and of *Charles Duke of Burgundy* not many Years before, of whom they related such another Tale ; But to return, and take for granted, that he died (as before noted) upon the place of Battle, his Body being enclosed in a Sheet of Lead was brought into *England*, and by the Kings Command laid in some bye Vault or Corner without any Funeral rites, he saying, *That it was a due punishment for one who had perjuriously broken his League* ; So that Death it self had not put a Period to his misfortune ; Tho' otherwise he was a Prince of great perfections both of Body and Mind, and endued with most of those Royal Virtues that are necessary for the equal poize of a Scepter, which caused that sharp, but true say-

saying, to drop from the Pen of a learned Author upon, him that he perished *Non suo, sed Stuartorum Fato.*

The loss of *James III.* in this manner, seemed to carry with it the most dreadfull presages of Confusion and Misery that ever threatned any Country, for he left his Queen *Margaret* and two Sons behind him, the Eldest whereof *James V.* that succeeded him in the Kingdom being not fully two years old; most of the Nobility who bore any thing of Wisdom and Authority before them, being slain in the fore-said Battle, and the major part of such as survived, by reason of their Youth, or Incapacity of their mind, very unfit to meddle with matters of State; especially in so teachy a time as that was. And those who were left alive of the better sort who had any thing of Prudence, through Ambition and Covetousness, abhorring all Counsels, tending to Peace and Concord. However something must be done for the Publick weal and as the fittest expedient for a settlement, a Parliament was convened at *Sterling*, who Proclaimed *James V.* King, and according to the Deceased King's Will; The Queen

*James
Stuart V.*
began his
Reign
*Feb. 14th.
1513.*

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was constituted Regent of the Kingdom so long as he remained a Widow; But she soon after Marrying Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus a young Gentleman, who for Lineage, Constancy, and other Accomplishments might be ranked amongst the prime Nobility of Scotland, lost her Office and Authority, and this occasioned a great feud among the Nobility. The *Douglasian* Party endeavoured to have the Queen continued in the Office; Alledging, That this was the way to have Peace with England; which was not only advantageous, but highly necessary for them at that time, as matters stood with them: But the *Humes*, whereof *Alexander Hume* Warden of all the Marches and a very Potent Man, was head, making up the adverse faction, under pretence of publick Good, and that it was against the old Laws of the Kingdom to have a Woman, however otherwise dignified, to be Regent, stiffly opposed the Queen and her Adherents; so that at last after they had passionately struggled about the choice, either out of wicked Ambition or secret Envy; They pass by all that were there present and incline to choose *John Duke of Albany* Son of *Alexander*, (of whom

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we have spoken before) Brother of *James III.* and who lived then in good Repute in *France*, from whence soon after he arrived in *Scotland*. The Duke was ignorant of the old Customs of the Country, as having been bred abroad all his Days, which *John Hepburn* a Crafty Knave and one who had contested with *Andrew Foreman*, about the Archbishoprick of *St. Andrew's* a little before, well observing, makes it his business to insinuate himself into the Regents Favour, under pretence of informing him of the Laws and Manners of the Land, but in Truth and Reality that he might advance himself upon the wrack and ruine of others. And to this End he tells the Regent, there were at that time three Factions in the Kingdom, the one headed by *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, the Queens Husband, who was wonderfully Popular, and upon the account of his Alliance with *England*, and his own Personal and Hereditary Merits, bore a Spirit too big for a private Man. *Alexander Hume* was the next, whose Power and Interest was so great, that there was a necessity of repressing of him in time; *Foreman* his former Competitor was the third, who, said he

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'twas true, was not to be feared upon the account of Kindred and Nobleness of descent, yet by reason of his great Wealth he would make a great Accession of Strength to what Party soever he inclined : But to this last Part the Governor gave little heed, as knowing it to be an invidious accusation of *Hepburn* proceeding from the noted feuds between *Foreman* and himself. But the suspicion of *Hume* sunk deeper into the Regents mind, which the other quickly perceiving, he falls in for his own security with the interest of the Queen and her Husband, and lamenting the danger the young King might be in, if he should fall into the Regents Hands, who was next Heir and bent to translate the Kingdom to himself ; he persuades the Queen to retire with the King to her Brother into *England* : But these Consultations were not so secretly carried on, but that the Governor had notice thereof, who being an Active Man, hastens with all his Forces to *Sterling* and quickly took the Castle with the King and Queen in it ; and so takes the poor King from the Mothers Bosom, appointing him to be kept and managed as he pleased. Upon which *Hume* and his Brother *Wil-*

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liam flee into *England*, and the Queen with her Husband soon followed them. the Regent was concerned at their departure, sets all his Engines at work to procure their return, which *Dowglas* the Queens Husband and the *Humes* soon after did; but *Alexander Hume* contrary to many large promises, being Summoned to appear before the Assembly of Estates, refused to come, and thinking himself aggrieved, encouraged *Tories* to commit great Outrages in the Neighbourhood; for which being like to be called to an Account by an Armed Power, he was perswaded to surrender himself, so was Committed to the Custody of *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, his Sisters Husband, at *Edenburg*, with a charge that himself should be esteemed a Traytor if he suffered him to escape. But *Hume* perswades *Hamilton* to make his escape with him, and to make a Party so as to enter upon the Government himself he being the next Heir after the former Kings Children, in regard he was born of a Sister of *James III.* and therefore it was more just he should enjoy the next place to the King then *John*, who, its true, was the Son of a Brother, but born in Exile, and in all other things a perfect

perfect Foreigner, and one that could not as much as speak the *Scottish* Language. With them joyns *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*, with many of his followers, but the Earl was soon after reconciled to the Governor and it was not long before *Hamilton* and *Hume* returned also to Court and had an amnesty for all that was past. *Hume* and his Brother in a little while after upon some new suspicion the Governor had of them, but mostly, as 'twas thought, upon the Calumny of *John Hepburn* aforesaid. (their implacable Enemy) were Seized, Condemned and Executed, the people looking on, and judging they had hard measure. The Regent having brought things into a tolerable state of Settlement, Constitutes seven Deputies, whereof the Earl of *Angus* was one, and goes over into *France* where he staid five years, which were full of rapine, scuffles, and inquietude; but I do not find but that the young King continued all this while in the same hands. But the Regent finding that in his absence the *Dowglasses* had mightily prevailed, he in order to prevent further seditions, sends the Earl of *Angus*, head of that Family into *France*, and another of the name to *Rome*, who died by the way,

way ; and next Year, after his return, raised an Army to invade *England*, in Favour of the *French* : But the Nobility opposed his Design, and so he was forced to Disband, and quickly upon that, goes into *France* again. The *English* Army in the mean time enter *Scotland*, carry all before them, and take *Jedburg*, and endeavour by their Navy to intercept the Regent in his return, but herein they failed, and he with the followers he brought with him from *France*, Compleats another Army, & actually invades *England*, and Besieged the Castle of *Werk* ; But finding a vigorous resistance, and withal Winter approaching, breaks up his Siege. The Spring following, he calls an Assembly of the Nobles, tells them the causes why he must needs go again into *France*, but promised them a speedy return, yet he never did : For the young King upon Advice from his Mother, and most of the Nobility, enters upon the Government himself, and so vacate the Regents power. And now the mystery of iniquity begins to work, for tho' the King had assumed the Royal Power, yet he and his Kingdom shall be Subject to the Will of others, as much, and more than before. You have

have heard how *Archibald Dowglas* had been sent by the Regent into *France*, who hearing of this alteration at home, sent one *Simon Penning*, an active Person and one in whom he confided very much, to the King of *England*, to perswade him, to let him to return home through his Dominions, which was granted ; for it seems King *Henry* was well enough pleased at the diminution of the Authority of so active a Person as the Duke of *Albany*, and at the change made in *Scotland*, so that the Earl was entertained by him in a very Courteous manner, and dismissed Honourably. But his return did variously affect the minds of the *Scots*, for seeing all the Publick business now transacted by the Conduct of the Queen and the Earl of *Arran*, a great many of the Nobility, the head whereof were *John Steward*, Earl of *Lennox*, and *Campbell* Earl of *Argyle*, taking it in very ill part that they were not admitted to any part of the publick Administration, received the Earl of *Angus* with high expressions of Joy, as hoping by his aid, either to gain over the Power of the adverse faction to themselves, or at least to abate their pride. On the other hand,
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the Queen, who was alienated from her Husband, was much concerned at his arrival, and sought by all means to undermine him : *Hamilton* also out of the relits of his own Hatred was none of his Friend ; besides he feared, least *Dowglas*, who, he knew, would not be content with a second place, should mount the saddle, and make him truckle under, so that he strain'd to maintain his own Dignity, and opposed him with all his might. They kept themselves therefore within *Edenburg* Castle, and tho' they had seen very well, that many of the Nobility affected alterations, yet confiding in the strength of the place and the Authority of the Kingly Name, (a sorry defence) they thought themselves secure from all force. In the mean time the opposite party held a great meeting of the Nobles, where they chose three of their own Faction to be Guardians both of King and Kingdom, and who should they be, but the Earl of *Angus*, *John Stewart* Earl of *Lennox*, and *Colen Campell* Earl of *Argyle* ; And using great Celebrity in their business, first they passed the *Forth*, and caused *James Beaton*, a shrewd Man, to joyn with them ; who perceiving the strength of the party,

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party, durst not stand out. From thence they went to *Sterling*, and Conferred all publick Offices and employments upon such as were of their own gang only, and afterwards directed their march for *Edenburgh*, which they entred without any resistance. For it was not Fortified at all, and immediately fell to work with the Castle, about which they cast a small Trench and Besieged it. The Defendants who had made no Provision for a Siege surrender'd up both it, themselves, King and all. All were sent away but the King, who now had more, especially three new Masters before named, and who take the whole weight of the Government upon their Shoulders. They agreed among themselves, that they would manage it by turns, each of them attending four Months a piece upon the King, who was their prey: But this Conjunction was neither hearty nor of long duration. *Donglafs*, his turn was first served, who brought the King into the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's* House, and made use of all the Bishop's Furniture and other Accomodations as if they had been his own. (for he had a little before revolted from their Faction) and that the Earl might engage the King the

the more, he suffered him to wallow in all kind of sensual Delights : But yet, he obtained not his End neither, in regard the Kings Domesticks were corrupted by the adverse faction, headed by the Queen and the Earl of Arran.

It was not long ere *Douglas* outed his two Colleagues, and assumed the whole Regency to his own hands, distributing Civil and Ecclesiastical Preferments unto his kindred and followers at pleasure, to the injury of diverse others, who had no power to resist ; The Earl of *Argyle* did indeed voluntarily withdraw himself from the Triumvirate : And *Lennox* tho' he followed the King, yet finding the *Douglases* share all Beneficial Offices amongst themselves, he gave many Testimonies of his Dislike, and that his mind was quite alienated from them. But they confident of their power, slighted the Reports and ill will of others. In the mean time the King, tho' he were used more indulgently, then was fit for him, that so he might be the longer kept in Subjection unto their Wills, yet notwithstanding by little and little growing weary of their Government, and being also alienated from

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them by the accusations of his own Domesticks, who charged them some times truly, and sometimes otherwise, always interpreting their doubtfull Actions in the worse sence ; whereupon he held secret Caballs with such as he could trust, concerning vindicating himself into his Freedom and Liberty. And having understood the dissatisfaction conceived by the Earl of Lennox against the proceedings of the *Dowglasses*, he stuck not to open his mind and make him privy of his Designs ; And while they were consulting about the Time, Place, and Manner, of Accomplishing the same ; *Dowglass* was making divers expeditions against the Country, Rovers but with no great Success, so that at length about the End of *July* he resolved to carry the King into *Tivertdale* as supposing his presence would be advantageous, to strike a terror into the licentious. Thus an Assembly being held at *Jedburgh*, all the heads of the chief Families round about were called together by the Kings order, and Comanded to apprehend those Criminals every one within his own precincts, of which they had then a list given them : Thus, while the minds of all were merry and Jocund, they who had a
Design

Design to free the King from the pupillage of the *Dowglasses*, thought that a good opportunity to effect it; because one *Walter Scot* being not far from *Jedburg*, had great Clanships in the Countries thereabouts and had engaged in their interests. And thus they laid their project; *Walter* was to invite the King to his House, and there he was to remain with his own good liking till greater forces came in, at the noise of the thing: But their design by what followed seemed to have been discovered either by chance or some private intimation; whereupon the King was carried back to *Mulrofs*, yet *Walter*, was not discovered, but proceeded on strait in his Journey to the King. When he was a little way off, the frightful News was brought to the *Dowglasses*, that *Walter* was at hand, Well Armed himself and accompanied by a great Troop of Armed Men; so that there was no Question to be made, but he being a factious man, and withal Valiant and audacious, did intend some mischief, insomuch that they presently ran to their Arms. *Dowglass* tho' inferior in number, yet knowing what Men he had of his own, were choise ones, and that he had besides several

ral valiant Persons of the Family of the *Carrs* and *Humes* in his train ; with *John Hume* and *Andrew Car* their principalls, he did resolved to give them Battle. When they were just ready to engage ; *Dowglas* Commands *George Hume* to alight from his Horse, and to manage his part in the fight, who answered, he would not : No not if the King himself Commanded him. This struck some damp upon the *Dowglasses*, however to make a Virtue of necessity they fell on with very great Fury, as men who had their King, and who was the price of the Combat, to be spectator ; the Earl of *Lennox* standing by the King all the while, and not striking a stroke. At last *Walter Scot* happening to be wounded, his men began to give ground, and at length fled out-right ; but the loss of *Andrew Car*, a Person of singular eminency did very much allay the joy of the *Dowglasses* for this Victory, and the carriage of *Lennox*, heightned their Jealousy of him, so that he thought it advisable to leave the Court ; and leave the King still a Captive and without hopes of Releasement. The *Dowglassians* perceiving themselves subject to the envy of many, endeavoured to strengthen their faction by the acquisition of more friends, and to that

that end, they prudently make up the old breach betwixt Them and the *Hamiltons*, a Family abounding in Wealth, Number, and Greatness, and admitted them into a share of the Government. On the other hand the Earl of *Lennox* was highly in favour of most People, and having privately obtained the King's Letters to most of the Nobility, who he thought would have kept his Council, he mightily strenthened his Party ; Wherefore in a convention of his faction at *Sterling*, where *James Beaton* and several other Bishops were present, he openly propounded to them the design of asserting the King to Liberty, which was Unanimously agreed to, tho' the day appointed for mustering their Forces was not yet come : Yet hearing that the *Hamiltons* were Assembled at *Lithgow* to intercept their march, it was thought adviseable to attack them, before they joyned with the *Dowglas*-*ses*, and accordingly *Lennox* with what present force he had with him marched directly towards them. But the *Hamiltons* having got intelligence, that the Earl would march out of *Sterling* that day early in the morning, had called the *Dowglassians* out of *Edenburgh* to their assistance before : But the King to favour *Lennox* as well

as his own Liberty, as he thought, did, besides other obstacles, somewhat retard them, by pretending himself not well, so that he got up later out of his Bed that day then ordinary. And besides, marched very slowly, and upon the way would often turn aside to ease nature, as if he had been troubled with a Lask : And when *George Dowglass* had in vain flattered him to make more hast, at last he broke forth into these menacing words, saying, ' Sir, Rather then our Enemies ' should take you from us, we will lay ' hold on your body, and if it be rent ' in pieces, we will be sure to retain one ' part thereof. Which words made such an impression upon his mind that when the *Dowglasses* were banished some Years after, and that he had some inclination to recall the rest of them, yet he could not endure to hear any body speak of a Reconciliation with this *George* : The *Hamiltons* betwixt fear of the Enemies approaching, and hope of aid at hand, had set themselves in array at the Bridge of the River *Aven*, which is about a mile from *Linlithgow*, and placed a small Guard upon the Bridge to secure the Pass, and drew up the rest of their Forces at the brow of the Hills, which they

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knew the Enemy must pass : *Lennox* seeing that this passage over the bridge was stopped, Commanded his Men to pass over a small River, a little above by the Nunnery, called *Mannell*, and so to beat the *Hamiltonians* from the Hills, before *Dowglass's* Forces had joyned them. The *Lennoxians* advanced towards the Enemy thorough thick and thin, but were much incommoded by the others throwing of Stones down the Hills upon them, and when they came to handy strokes the word was given that the *Dowglasses* were at hand; and indeed they from their march ran in hastily into the Fight, and soon carried the Day, so that *Lennox's* Men were grievously wounded and put to flight. The Victory was used by the *Hamiltonians* with much cruelty, and among the Number of the slain, was the Earl of *Lennox* himself, highly lamented by all Persons, and more especially, by the King himself, who now saw no visible hopes of ever retrieving his Liberty, and could not choose but see, how fatal his presence was to all that attempted it.

Now the *Dowglasses* are Lords paramount and carry all before them, those that had taken up Arms against
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their King, as they phrased it, for fear of a Tryal, were forced to compound with them for money, or to put themselves into the Clanships of the *Hamiltons* or themselves; and such as refused they utterly ruined, yea and the Queen her self thought fit to retire to a place of Secrecy lest she should fall into the hands of her Husband whom she hated. But fury abating with time, and the *Dowglasses* being severally intent upon other matters and concerns, and secure, as they thought as to the Kings Departure from them, gave him at last an opportunity to gain his Liberty, which all the former attempts of his Friends could not effect for him. They believed now, that his mind was fully Reconciled to them by those Blandishments and Immoderate Pleasures they had indulged him in, and besides, thought that if he were minded to remove, there was no faction strong enough to oppose them, neither was there any strong Garrison whither to retire but only to *Sterling* Castle, which was allotted to the Queen for her Habitation; And then it was deserted for a time by the Queens Officers when she hid her self for fear of the *Dowglasses*, and when the tumult was a little

tle appeased, it was somewhat Fortified, but rather for a show than any real defence. The King having obtained some small relaxation, saw that this must be his only refuge, and and therefore he deals privately with his Mother to exchange that Castle and the Lands adjoining for other Lands, as convenient for her; and providing all other requisites, as private as he could, the *Dowglasses* not being so intent, as formerly in their watch over him, he retired by night with a small retinue from *Falkland* to *Sterling*, whither he soon sent for some of the Nobles to come to him, and others hearing the News came of their own accord, so that now he seemed sufficiently secured against all force. Then he issued out a Proclamation that the *Dowglasses* should abstain from all the Administration of publick affairs, and that none of their Dependants should come within 12 miles of the Court upon pain of Death. This Proclamation was quickly seconded with an Assembly of the Nobles at *Edenburg*, where they had such Terms offered them, as they would not accept, whereupon their Offices were taken from them; and themselves Summoned to attend the Parliament at *Edenburg*. But they knowing the danger, Endeavoured to seise upon

upon *Edenburgh*, and dissolve the Parliament, but failed in the attempt. So that the Earl of *Angus* retired to his Castle of *Tantallon*, and the Parliament proceeded in their business, and the Earl with his Brothers, Relations, and intimate Friends were out-Lawed. They on the other hand being enraged at these proceedings and seeing all hopes of Pardon cut off, betook themselves to open force, and Committed all sorts of Outrages upon the Lands of their Enemies and with their Horse advanced many times to the very Gates of *Edenburgh*, so that the City was almost besieged by them. The King thinking to unroot them all at once, raises Forces and lays siege to *Tantallon* Castle, but all that ever he could do, could not take it. At length the *Douglases* finding the *Hamiltons* and the rest of their Friends fail them, found it necessary to retire for their better safety into *England*, from whence came Ambassadors shortly after about settling a firm Peace between both Kingdoms and with the same labour to procure the Restitution of the *Douglases*. King *James* was mighty desirous to have *Tantallon* Castle in his Power, and at the same time his mind as averse to the Restoration of the *Douglases*, and for that reason the matter was convass-

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ed too and fro for some Days, and no temper of Accommodation could be found out : But at length they came to this ; That *Tantallon* Castle should be surrendered to K. *James*, a Truce between both Nations for five Years, and the other demands in reference to the *Dowglasses* he promised to grant under his Signet. When the Castle was surrendered according to Composition, the King failed of his Royal Word, and not one of the *Dowglasses* were permitted to return ; which was foul prevarication in him, and a stain that will not easily be blotted off his Memory, seeing this was a principal matter in the Agreement and the Equivalent for the Castle. The Truce about half expired, was infringed by a War between both Nations : which the *French* Ambassador endeavoured to compose, and about the same time, *James* transacts with the *French* King and afterward with the Emperor about a Match, which was like to endanger his life ; For the *Hamiltons* almost confident of the Succession, yet looking upon it a long way about to stay either for Fortuitous or Natural dangers to befall him, and fearfull in case he married, he might have Lawfull Issue of his own, studied to hasten his Death by Treachery. a fair opportunity

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tunity was offered them to effect it by his Night-walkings to his Misses, having but one or two in Company; but however it were, they ne'er could put their purpose in Execution. The Emperor's offers were rejected and at last he went over himself into *France* to seek him a Wife, and brings over along with him *Magdalen* Daughter to *Francis* the *French* King, but she died soon after and had no issue. The Death of *Magdalen* did but whet his desires to get him another Wife, and to that End he dispatched Cardinal *David Beaton* and others into *France* to treat of a Match between himself and *Mary* of the House of *Guise*, Widdow to the Duke of *Longeville*, by whom he had two Sons and a Daughter, of whom you'll hear by and by. But before her arrival in *Scotland*, *John Forbes* a young Gentleman of a great Family was accused of a Design he had many years before, to Assassinate the King: It was believed to be a malicious prosecution of the *Huntley's*, but Condemned he was and lost his head; and a few Days after, came on another Tryal, which on the account of the Family of the accused Parties, the Novelty of it, and the heinousness of the punishment was very Lamentable and Tragical, and plainly shews the Kings mind was cruel

and implacable. *Joan Darglass*, Sister to the Earl of *Angus*, of whom we have said so much, and Wife to *John Lyons* Lord of *Glames*; also her Son and latter Husband, *Gilesy Campell*, *John Lyons* Kinsman to her former Husband, and an old Priest were accused for endeavouring to poyson the King. All these tho' they lived continually in the Country far from the Court, and their Friends and Servants could not be brought to witness any thing against them, yet were put on the rack, to extort a Confession from them, and so were Condemned and shut up in *Edenburg Castle*. *Joan Darglass* was burnt alive, with great Commiseration of all the Spectators; The Nobleness both of her self and Husband did much affect the beholders: Besides she was in the vigour of her youth, much celebrated for her rare Beauty, and in her very punishment she shewed a manlike Fortitude. But that which people were more concerned for, was, that they thought the enmity against her Brother who was banished, did her more prejudice than her own objected Crime. Her Husband endeavoured to escape out of the Castle of *Edenburg*; but the Rope being too short to let him down to the foot of the Rock, brake almost all the bones of his body with the fall, and so ended

ended his Days. Their Son, a young Man and of greater Innocent simplicity, then to have the suspicion of such a wickedness justly charged upon him, was for all that shut up a Prisoner in the Castle ; And the accuser of all these, *William Lyons* by name, afterwards perceiving, that so eminent a Family was like to be utterly ruined by his false Information, Repented, when it was too late, and confessed his offence to the King. Yet so bloody was he (an instance I think hardly to be paralleled in all the records of time) that it did not prevent the Execution of the Condemned or hinder their Estates from being Confiscate ; and the aforesaid young Gentleman was not discharged from his Imprisonment and Restored to his Inheritance till after the King's Death which is now upon the Wing. But as we have given you the Tragical part of his past life in all the Circumstances of them, we shall depeint unto you all the concurrent causes of his Tragical and Untimely Death and to that End ; we are necessitated to recount some few things to you that in order of time precede ; and you must note, That King *Henry VIII.* having upon the account of his Divorce from Queen *Katherine*, Proclaimed himself head of the Church, and utterly disclaimed the Pope's Authority in *England*

~~him~~ he thereby contracted great enmity not only from *Rome*, but also from *Spain* and the Empire ; Wherefore to strengthen himself against any Combination, that he expected to be made against him, he was desirous to entertain a strict amity with his Nephew, *James V. of Scotland* ; and to that End directs Ambassadors to him, inviting him to a Conference at *York*, whither *Henry* offered to come and meet him : Alledging, That by such an interview, matters might be better concerted for the mutual Interest of both Kingdoms. K. *James* after a serious Deliberation, returns Answer, he would attend his Unkle at the Time and Place appointed ; who thereupon made very great preparations to Entertain him with utmost solemnity. But the *Scotch* Clergy apprehensive, least their King through his Unkles Perswasions and Example, might be wrought upon to shake off the Pope's Authority in *Scotland*, as he had done in his own Dominions ; Resolve to do the utmost of their endeavours to prevent the intended interview, and so mustering up all their Forces, by themselves and the Kings minions and flatterers, acquaint him with the evil Consequence of his going to *England* ; shew, how King *James I.* had been kept Prisoner in *England*, how in the *French*, their old Confederates, and

and the Emperor would take it at his hands ; That King *Henry* was excommunicate, that a dangerous Heresy had overspread not only the greatest part of that Kingdom, but had infected even the King himself ; That many of his own Nobility were favourers of the said Heresy, which notwithstanding if he took care timely to suppress, it would be of mighty advantage to him, and he might very much increase his revenue by their Estates, a list of whose names they presented to him which he put in his Pocket, thinking it a very profitable proposal and therefore with all expedition to be put in Execution.

The Lord *Grang* his Treasurer, and who secretly favoured the Reformation was then much in his favour, and to him the King shews the foresaid List, telling him what great advantage he would make of it, whereat the Treasurer smiled, and withall desired leave to speak his mind freely ; upon which the King drew his Sword, and merily said to him ; *I le kill thee if thou speak against my profit* : Then the Treasurer began to set before him at large the various troubles of his Reign while in minority, and what an hand the Clergy had in all the disorders ; that he had not been long a free Prince ; And that though
his

his Majesty had done very much in the time, in settling the *Highlands* and the Borders; yet desired him to consider of what a dangerous consequence it might be if his Nobility should get intelligence, that some greedy fetches had been insinuated to him, under pretence of Heresie to dispoile them of their Lives and Inheritances; And thereby endanger his own Estate, at the instance of those whose Estates were in danger, and who would hazard him and his to save their own: I mean (continued the Treasurer) the Prelates, who are afraid lest your Majesty according to the Example of the King's of *England* and *Denmark*, and other Princes of the Empire, should make the like Reformation among them; and therefore they are clearly against your having any familiarity with the King of *England*, or to have your Affairs so settled as to give you leisure to look into and reform the abuses of the Church. Then he went on and shewed him, how the Revenues of the Crown were wasted, and the vast Estates of the Clergy, their addictedness to the Pope, their sly carriage in insinuating themselves into all secrets of State; the wisdom of the *Venetians* in that particular. in excluding the whole Levitical Order from their Senate-house; the gross abuses of the
I i Church

Church of *Rome* ; the scandalous lives of the Scotch Clergy ; and last of all, urged how dishonourable and dangerous it would be to his Majesty not to keep his word with the King of *England*, who was a valiant Prince, and of an high stomach, and appeared for the time to have an upright meaning, his occasions pressing him thereto. And that having but one only Daughter, and being himself grown fat and corpulent, there were but small hopes of his having any more Children, and that therefore it was his undoubted interest to hold a good correspondence with him, being his Sisters Son, nearest of Blood, and ablest to maintain and unite the whole Island of *Britain*. That the detention of King *James I.* in *England*, was a far different case, and desired him to consider what bad success the King his Father had, in making War against the K. of *England* his Brother ; That that was but too manifestly felt by all the Subjects, and that little better was to be looked for if a new and unnecessary War were begun by his refusing to be at the intended meeting at *York*. This Speech was sufficient to convince him, had not his Stars inclined him otherwise, as his true interest to conform himself to the Will of his Uncle King *Henry*. However, for the present he was mightily pleased

pleased with it, and seemed resolved to follow th Treasurers advice ; And at his first meeting with the Prelates, who carried then a very great sway in the Country, he could not contain himself any longer, when they came to him, hoping to find their Plots put in execution : But after many sharp words and expostulations, that they should advise him to use such cruelty upon so many Noble Men and Barons, to the endangering of his own repose , he said ; *Wherefore gave my Predecessors so many Lands and Rems to the Kirk ? was it to maintain Hawks, Dogs, and Whores for a Company of Idle Priests ? The K. of England Burne, the K. of Denmark Beheads you, I shall stick you with this Whinyard ;* And thereupon whips out his Dagger, which made them all scour out of his presence with trembling hearts ; the King declaring himself, resolved to keep his promise aforesaid with his Unkle, esteeming it now both his Honour and Interest so to do-

This procedure of the King struck a terrible damp upon the Prelates Spirits, who found themselves now in a very desperate state ; However, not to be wanting to themselves and cause, they began again to re-assume some Courage, and enter upon Consultation how to gain the King back again to their bow ;

and knowing that money was a bait that seldom failed, and would be very likely to catch him, they make an offer in the first place to pay him yearly out of the Rents of the Church, the sum of Fifty Thousand Crowns for the maintenance of some Regular Troops, besides, the ordinary Subjects which obeyed his Proclamation, in case the King of *England* made War upon *Scotland*, upon the King's failure to keep the appointment at *York*: Yet they concluded, that unless the matter was proposed and favourably interpreted to the King by such as had his Ear, that would not do the business. Wherefore they made very liberal Gifts unto the K. Familiar Servants with an Additional promise to *Oliver Sinclair*, that they would procure him to be advanced to great Honours, and made General of the whole Army against *England*, in case King *Henry* intended to make War against their Nation, which they affirmed he neither would, nor durst do, having already so many Irons in the fire. Having laid this project, they proceed to put it in Execution, and so communicated the same to the Minions of the Court, which was cheerfully agreed to by them, who by their vile flattery obtained the greatest favour: But the chief bait they laid for the King

King and wrought their Ends by, was by alluring of pretty Women to him; each striving to be the first that should advertise him, whose Daughter such an one was, and how she might be obtained: But the Treasurers presence, whom they feared and knew to be a man of Resolution, very much obstructed their Designs, wherefore a convenient opportunity was to be attended for in his absence from Court, which happened not long after. For the King had given the Ward and Marriage of *Kelley* in the County of *Angus*, to his second Son, and he went thither to take possession thereof: Thereupon they fall to work, make their proposals to the King, which were stoutly backed by *Oliver Sinclair* and such of the Clergy as had best acquaintance at Court, and especially at the time when they gratified his Lust with mens Wives and Maidens as before noted; and with all this oyling they found him at last pretty plyable, and this induced them to lay hold of the opportunity to ruin the Treasurer, whom they suspected to be the only *Remora* of their whole Design: And therefore they lay before him, how that he was turned Heretick, and had always a new Testament in *English* in his Pocket; and besides, that through his Majesties favour he was grown so high and so proud

that there was no enduring of him ; but withal so extream covetous, that he was the unfittest man alive for that Office ; and overbold for procuring of the King the Ward of *Kelley* for his second Son, which was worth Twenty Thousand Pounds. But to this the King Answered, *That he looked upon his Treasurer to be a plain honest Gentleman, that he loved him so well, as that he would give him again the said Ward and Marriage for a Word of his Mouth.* The Prior of *Pittenweem*, a cunning Fox, replies, *Sir, the Heiress of Kelley is a jolly fair Lass, and I dare venture my life, that if your Majesty will send for her presently, he will refuse to send her.*

But the King affirmed still the contrary, till at last they procured him to send actually for the young woman, and the Prelates and their faction contrived it so that the said Prior of *Pittenweem* should carry the Letter, and Conduct the young woman back to the King. But when he came, the Treasurer who knew him to be his deadly Enemy, refused to deliver her ; Alliedging, the said Prior to have been all his days a vile Whore-master, having deflowred several Virgins, and so thought him unfit for such a charge. This was what the Prior wanted, and so very Joyfully he returns with the Answer to the King, to whom

whom together with his wicked associates he handled the matter with that finess and industry, that he rendered the Treasurer very obnoxious to him, and far as that he granted a Warrant to commit him into Custody within *Eden-
burg* Castle, which they forgot not to do as soon as ever he came to Court. But the Treasurer suspecting some evil practises against him during his absence, thought no way so proper and effectually for his security, as to get with all diligence into the Kings presence, which notwithstanding all their Conspiracies, he effected, and found him at Supper; But when he came there, the King looked down, and would neither speak to him nor know him, whereat he was not a little concerned: However he would not put the matter up so, but advanced nearer the Kings Person, and said, *Sir, What offence have I done, who had so much of your Favour when I parted from you with your permission; The King Answered. Why did des refuse to send me the Maiden whom I wrote for, and gave despicable Language to him I sent for her? Sir, said he, there is none about your Majesty dare avow such a thing to my face; As for the Maiden, I told the Prior, that I was well enough to be the Messenger my self to convey her to your Majesty, but thought him an unmeet Person, whom I*

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knew to be a lover of Women and the greatest deflowerer of Wives and Maidens in Scotland : Then the King said, *Hast thou then brought the Gentlewoman with thee ?* Yes Sir, said he ; *Alas*, saith the King, *They have told me so many lies of thee, that they have got a Warrant from me to commit thee to Prison, but I shall mend it with a contrary Command.* Then said the Treasurer lamentingly, *My life or Imprisonment is but a small matter, but it breaks my heart that the world should hear of your Majesties facility ;* For he had heard, that during his absence they had caused the King to send to *England*, and to give over the designed interview at *York*. The Prelates having gained this point, they jog the King forwards to prosecute the reformed, and get *James Hamilton* Bastard Brother to the Earl of *Arran* and a fit Instrument for their purpose to be Judge in matters of Religion. About the same time came into *Scotland* one *James Hamilton*, a son-German to the foresaid *James*, who after long banishment, at length got leave to return to his Country for a time, to prosecute a Law-Suit he had against the Bastard *James* ; But when he found after his Arrival, what dangers himself and other true Professors of the Gospel were in, he dispatch'd his Son to the K.

who

who was then going over to *Fife*, and having got to him before he was gone on board, he acquaints him tremblingly, who was by Nature very suspicious, that it was a matter of great moment, and would prove dangerous to the whole Kingdom, unless the King would take care to secure *Hamilton* and take away his Commission. The King who was then hastning to *Fife*, sent the young man to *Edenburg* to the Lords of the Sessions, and ordered *James Lermouth*, *James Kinney*, and *Thomas Aresky* to meet, and charged them to give as much heed to what the Messenger should Declare as if he himself were present, and sent them a Ring which they knew, from off his Finger for a Token. These having set their heads together secure *James*, who had just dined and was ready for his Journey, in his own House, and send him prisoner to the Castle; But when they had learned by their spies, that the King upon earnest application made to him on his behalf, was inclined to discharge him; and that besides the danger the publick might be in, they themselves had reason to fear, least if so Factious and powerfull a man, and now provoked by so great an ignominy, did come off clear, he would be sharply and severely revenged; They posted to Court and perswaded the King by laying the nearness of the danger, the wicked disposition

position, cruel mind and Wealth, of the Man as much as possible they could, before him not to discharge him without a Tryal. The King therefore going to *Edenburg*, and from thence to *Seaton*, commands him to be tryed for his life, and having been Convicted, lost his head. The Crime laid to his charge, was, that he had on a certain day, determined to break the Doors open and to murder the King, and had secret cabals with the *Dowglasses* that were publick Enemies. Strange proceedings those were, tho' the Man died in a manner unlamented, as being obnoxious to most people and having lead a most wicked Life; only the Priesthood were much concerned at his fall, as having placed all the hopes of their Fortunes in his Welfare. But however, he might have been an ill man otherwise, by the sequel it was interpreted, that the King had done little less then murdered him; for from henceforth he was grievously afflicted with turbulent dreams, whereof amongst the rest, this was one. He saw this same *James Hamilton* rush into his presence with a drawn Sword, and first cut off his right Arm and then the left, and when he had threatned to return in a short time, and cut off his head, he vanished: The King when he awoke, was in a great fright, and while he revolved with himself upon the Event of his dream,

dream, presently comes News to him, that both his Sons, one at *St. Andrews*, and the other in *Sterling*, were dead, almost in the very same moment of time. This was black and ominous upon him, and now we come to shew you his Exit, which was violent as well as the rest that went before him.

When *Henry VIII.* found himself thus basely disappointed by his Nephew, he was not a little incensed thereat, and prepared an Army to invade *Scotland*. There were near two years spent with nothing but Incursions on both sides, there being neither a certain Peace nor a Just War between them; at length the Army under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk* drew near to the Marches, the *Scots* encounter the Duke with an Heraldt to expostulate concerning the Motives of the War, and withal dispatched the *Ld. Gowrdon*, with some small Forces to defend the Frontiers; The Heraldt was detained till the *Eng.* Army came to *Berwick*, to prevent his giving them Intelligence of their strength. And in *October* the Duke entring *Scotland* continued there ransacking the Country, without any opposition till the middle of *November*; by which time King *James* had Levied a great Army and was resolved on a Battle. The Nobility did all they could to dissuade him from it, and especially shewed a great unwilling-

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willingness that he should any way hazard his own Person, the loss of his Father in like manner being fresh in their memories, and *Scotland* too sensible of the Calamities that ensued upon it. The *K.* proving obstinate, they detain him by Force, being desirous rather to run the risque of his displeasure than of his life. This tenderness of him in the Language of rage and indignation he Terms Cowardice and Treachery, and threatned when once he should get loose to fight the Enemy with his own Family only. The Lord *Maxwell* seeking to allay him, promised with Ten Thousand men only to invade *England*, and with far less than the *English* forces, to divert the War. The *K.* seems to consent hereto, and being offended with the rest of the Nobility, he gives the Lord *Sinclair* a private Commission, which was not to be opened till such time as they came to give Battle, wherein, he made him General of the whole Army. *Sinclair*, having decryed Five Hundred *English* Horse Commanded by Sir *Thomas Wharton* and Sir *William Musgrave*, on the adjacent Hills, he breaks his Commission open, and Commanded it to be publickly read before the Army; which so distastd all of them, and especially the Lord *Maxwell*, that all things were presently in a Confusion and the Army ready to disband. The opportunity of an
adjoyning

adjoining Hill gave the *English* a full prospect into their Army, and invited them to make advantage thereof, and so they fell upon the *Scots* with a furious charge, quickly routed them, slew a great number of them, and took abundance of prisoners, among whom *Sinclair* their General made one. The News of this defeat was no sooner brought to the King, who was not far off, but he fell into a great rage and fury, which terminated in sadness and heavy grief of heart, as *Robert II.* his great Ancestor did upon the taking of his Son *James* by the *English*; and this brought him to watch and be abstemious, disdaining to eat his Victuals; And coming to understand that the Country was full of murmurings that the Kingdom should be thus endangered for the Prelates pleasure, and knowing withal that such Complaints were Just and True, this made him burst out with some threatening and revengeful language against such as had given him such bad advice, and so hastned his untimely Death: For those evil Councillors had no sooner understood what he said, but they considered the danger they might be in, if he should survive, and fearing the Effects of his displeasure, they poisoned him, having learnt the Art in *Italy*, called an *Italian Posit*, in the Three and Thirtieth year of his Age, and two and Thirtieth of his Reign.

See

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See *Melville's Memoirs*. Cardinal *Beaton* who, tis supposed, had a great hand in his Death, counterfeited his will; wherein himself and three more were appointed Governors of the Kingdom. He left one only Daughter *Mary*, that Succeeded him in his Kingdom and Misfortunes and was at her Fathers Death but eight Days old. He never saw her, and 'twas said, when he was informed of her Birth it did rather aggravate his sorrow, then exhilarate his mind, as foreseeing *Scotland* would one way or other fall under the Government of the *English* Nation.

The King cut thus off in the flower of his Age, the tumults of the former times were rather hushed up then composed, so that Wise men foresaw such a tempest impending over *Scotland*, as they had neither ever heard before in the ancient records of time nor had themselves seen the like. For what from private animosities and dissension upon the score of Religion, and from a War from aboard with a puissant King, now enraged with the *Scots* prevaricating with him, there was reasonably to be hoped for little less then an utter desolation. However, something must be done, and the Cardinal according to his Develish subornation, takes the Administration into his hands; but *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran* being presumptive Heir to the Crown; and his friends as well as many

ny others disdaining to be under the bondage of a Mercenary Priest, they encouraged him to assume the Regency, which the return of the Prisoners taken in the last Battle by the *English* (who were released by the King of *England* with the hopes, and upon promise of procuring their young Queen to be married to Prince *Edward* and thereby to have the two Crowns United) did not a little promote, so that the Cardinals forgery being in a little time detected he was casheered and his Kinsman *Arran* substituted in his room. Not long after, came Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Ambassador from King *Henry* into *Scotland*, to treat about the foresaid Match; but the Cardinal and his faction raise forty colourable pretences to affront him and elude his Message, and to fortify themselves as much as might be, sent for *Mathew Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox* out of *France*, by whose Interest they thought to ballance that of the *Hamiltons*. But soon after his arrival, finding the Regent and Cardinal had joined Interests, and that himself was eluded in respect to the promise made him of Marrying the Queen *Dowager* and having the chief management of affairs; and withal mis-representing his proceeding to the *French King*, he has recourse to Arms; But not finding himself to have Force sufficient to cope with the Regent, with the additional Interest

terest of the Queen and Cardinal, he makes some sort of Accommodation with them : But at last experimenting there was but little sincerity in all their Actions, and that himself was oppress'd and in danger of his life every moment, he made some faint resistance and in the end withdrew into *England*, where he was Honourably received by the King ; who besides his other respects, gave him *Margaret Dowglas* in Marriage, who was Sister by the Mother side to *James V.* last King of *Scotland*, begot by the Earl of *Angus* upon *Margaret* Sister to *Henry VIII.* from which Marriage sprung *Henry Stuart* Lord *Darnley* Husband to *Mary* Queen of *Scots* and Father to *James VI.* of *Scotland* and *I.* of *England*, of whom more here after.

The King of *England* in the mean time being highly affronted with the *Scots* violating of their faith with him in respect to the Marriage, resolves to call them to a severe account for their perfidity, and to that End invades their Country with a puissant Army, commits great ravages, and even Pillaged and Burnt *Edenburg* it self and then retreated. The *Scots* with the assistance of the *French*, whose Alliance they had preferred before that of the King of *England*, endeavoured to retrieve the loss by the Invasion of the *English* Borders but made little of the matter ; So
that

hat things for a time seemed to hang in
 suspense between both Nations ; and the
 Cardinal with his cut-throat Ecclesiasticks
 had leasure to prosecute those that espoused
 the Reformation, and because the Civil pow-
 er would not meddle with the matter, they
 take the whole into their own hands : And
 among others, put to Death one *George*
Wifeheart, burning him for an Heretick,
 and who, when the Governor, who stood
 by, exhorted him to be of good cheer
 and ask Pardon of God for his offences ;
 He replied, *This flame occasions trouble in*
deed to my body, but it hath in no wise broken
my spirit, but he who now proudly looks down
upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to
the Cardinal) shall e're long be as ignominiously
thrown down, as now he proudly lies at his ease.
 Which strangely came to pass, and which,
 because of the Tragicalness of the sto-
 ry we think will not be impertinent to
 insert in this place. The Cardinal be-
 ing on a time at *St. Andrew's* and having
 appointed a day for the Nobility and e-
 specially those whose Estates lay nearest
 the Sea, to Meet and Consult what was fit
 to be done for the common safety, for their
 Coasts were severely threatned by the
 great Naval preparations of the *English*
 made against them : He determined for
 the more effectual Execution of his De-
 sign to take a strict view of all the Sea-
 K k Coasts,

Coasts, to Fortify all Convenient Places, and to put Garrisons into them. Among the rest of the Noble Men Sons, who came into the Cardinal, *Norman Lesley*, Son to the Earl of *Ruthes*, was one. This same Person had done great and eminent Services for the Cardinal, but on a time there fell out a dispute concerning a private business which estranged them a while, one from another; but *Norman* upon great promises made to him, quitted his right in the matter contested for. But coming after some months to demand the performance of what was promised him; They fell from plain discourse to hot words, and afterwards to down-right railing, uttering such reproachfull words to one another as became neither of them, and so they parted in great rage from one another; The Cardinal fancying, that he was not treated with that deference due to his Eminency, and *Norman* full of Wrath and Fury as being Circumvented by fraud; so that he returned home with thoughts bent upon revenge, and openly among his Friends inveighed against the intollerable Pride of the Cardinal insomuch that they agreed to take away his Life: And that the matter might pass with the least suspicion, *Norman* with five only in his Company came to *St. Andrew's*, and took up

up his usual Inn, that his intentions might be concealed by reason of the paucity of his followers ; But there were ten more in the Town Privy to the Conspiracy, who all in several places expected the Signal to fall on. The Days were then very long as being in the Month of *May*, and the Cardinal was Fortifying the Castle for his Defence, for fear of any surprize in such great haste, that the workmen continued at work almost Night and Day ; So that when the Porter early in the morning opened the Gates to let in the workmen, *Norman* had placed two of his Men in ambush in an adjacent House, with orders to seize the Porter ; And when they had, by so doing, made themselves Masters of the Gate, They were to give the Signal to the rest : By this means they all entered the Castle without any noise, and dispatched four of their number to watch the Cardinal's Door, that no Tydings might be carried in to him, others were appointed to go to the Chambers of the rest of the household, to call them up. (for they knew well enough both the Men and the Place) then they roused up half awake, and calling them by their Names, threatened them severely to kill them without any more ado, if they made but the least

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Out-cry, so that they lead them all out of the Castle in great silence without doing them the least harm; And now all the rest being put out, they alone remained Masters of the Castle. Whereupon those that were posted at the Cardinal's Door knock'd at it, and being asked by those within what their Names were, they told them, and then were admitted; Having, as have some written, given their words, that they would hurt nobody: But when they once got in, they dispatched the Cardinal with many wounds. In the mean time the Rumor run about the Town, That the Castle was taken, insomuch that the Cardinals Friends half drunk, and half asleep, started out of their Beds, and cryed out *Arms*: And thus they run to the Castle, and called with Menaces and Reproaches, for Ladders and other things necessary for a Storm. They within, seeing this, that they might blunt the present impetuosity of their minds and put some check upon their fury; Cryed out to them and demanded, why they made such a bustle, for the Man was dead whom they thought to rescue, and with that threw out the Cardinals dead body in the sight of them all, even out of that very place, where before he rejoicingly beheld the Execution of *George Wiseheart*.

The

The *English* in the mean time pursue their expedition and make terrible havock in the Country; at last the Regent with the assistance of the *French*, gave them some repulse, which was followed with a perswasive Letter from the *English* to a Peace: But the Regent with his Regiment of Popish Priests about him, and with whom he consulted alone about it, rejected the proposals, and gives them Battle, but receives a most terrible defeat, and the Priests and *Monks* paid the shot; For the *English*, who well knew, it was by their Advice their Generous Offers had been refused, took terrible Vengeance upon them, and gave them no Quarter that bloody day. But this and other Succesfull expeditions that followed could not prevent the Priestly faction to send their young Queen over into *France*, which was the thing the *English* most dreadded, as having a desire to have her Married to *Edward VI.* which would have United both Kingdoms. But now the *French* had gained that point, they grew very imperious and almost intollerable to the *Scots* themselves, and at last came to an Agreement with the *English* to quit *Scotland* which was done, in *May*, 1550. The Regents Proceedings had disgusted many, and he began to decline in his Authority, so that he

was brought at last by the *French* Artifice to resign his Office, which by the same Interest was conferred upon the Queen *Towager*. But this was out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire, and almost all the time of her Regency was spent with furious contests between her and the Reformed, who, at last with the Assistance of the *English*, carried the Day (tho' the young Queen was in the mean time Married to the *Dauphine* of *France*) and the Q. Regent at last was forced to resign her Office by Death, worn out with sickness and with grief that she could not Accomplish her Design.

After the Queen Regents Death, Peace was concluded between both Parties, and the *French* were to leave *Scotland*, a point the Regent would never yeild to in her life time tho' often prest unto it ; and the Death of *Francis* the Queen of *Scots* Husband, now become King of *France*, occasioned her return into her own Country, and the rather because she found her Mother-in-Law, who managed matters of State now somewhat alienated from her, and she could not endure to truckle to her. Soon after her arrival she dispatched *William Maitland*, Ambassador to Q. *Elizabeth* to Confirm the Peace lately made, but the Chief of his Errand appear'd to be to press *Elizabeth* to declare her

her to be the next Heir to the Crown of *England*; which motion, because Queen *Elizabeth* did not a little stomach, and and I do verily believe had some influence upon Queen *Mary's* Future Calamity, we shall a little more particularly insist upon, together with the Queens reply to the Ambassador upon it. He began first to acquaint her how highly the Queen his Mistress was affected toward her, and how much she desired to maintain Peace and Amity with her; he also carried to her Letters from the Nobility, in which was mentioned a Friendly Commemoration of former obligations and Courtesies; But one thing they earnestly desired of her that both publickly and privately, she would shew her self Friendly and Courteous towards their Queen, and being incited by good Offices, she would not only preserve them in her ancient Friendship, but superadd daily stronger obligations if possible hereunto. As for their part it should be their earnest desire and study to pretermitt no occasion of perpetuating the Peace betwixt the two Neighbour Nations, and that there was but one sure way to induce an amnesty of all past differences, and to stifle the spring of them for ever, by the Queen of *England's* Declaring by an Act of Parliament

ment Confirmed by the Royal assent; That their Queen was Heiress to the Kingdom of *England* next after her self and her Children, if ever she had any; And when the Ambassador had urged the equity and reasonableness of such a Law, and how beneficial it would be to all *Britain* by many Arguments, he added in the close; That she being her nearest Kinswoman, ought to be more intent and diligent than others in having such an Act made, and that the Queen his Mistress did expect that Testimony of good will and respect from her. To which the Queen of *England* made Answer to this purpose? *I wonder she hath forgot how that before her departure out of France, that after much urging she promised that the League made at Leith should be Confirmed. She having faithfully engaged it should be so, as soon as e're she returned to her own Country; I have, continued she, been put off with Words long enough, now it is time, if she had any regard to her Honour, that her Actions should answer her Words.* To which the Ambassador replied, That he was sent on that Embassy but a very few Da s after the Queens arrival, before she had entred upon the Administration of any publick affairs; that she had been hitherto taken up in treating of the Nobility, many of whom she had never seen before

before, who came from diverse parts, to perform their dutifull Salutations to her; but that she was chiefly employ'd about settling the State of Religion, which, how troublesome and difficult a thing it is, said he, Your self well know. Hence he proceeded to shew that his Mistress had had no vacant time at all before his departure, neither had she yet called fit Men for her Council to Consult about various affairs: especially since the Nobility who lived in the remotest parts of the North had not been yet able to attend her, before his coming away, with whose advice, matters of such publick moment could, and ought to be transacted. which words somewhat incensed Queen *Elizabeth*, and said; What need hath the Queen to make any Consultation about that which she hath obliged her self to under Hand and Seal? he replyed, I can give no other answer at present, for I received no Command about it, neither did our Q. expect that an account thereof would now be required of me, and you may easily consider with your self what Just causes of delay she at present lies under; and after some other Words the Queen returned to the main point, and said: I observe what you most insist upon in behalf of the Queen and in seconding the

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' the Requests of the Nobles, you put
 ' me in mind ; That your Queen is descend-
 ' ed from the Blood of the King's of *Eng-*
 ' *land*, and that I am bound to love her
 ' by a natural Obligation as being my near
 ' Kinswoman, which I neither can, nor
 ' will deny ; I have also made it evident
 ' to the whole World that in all my A-
 ' ctions I ne'er attempted any thing against
 ' the good and Tranquility of her self and
 ' her Kingdom ; those who are acquainted
 ' with my inward thoughts and inclina-
 ' tions are conscious, that tho' I had just
 ' cause of offence given, by her using my
 ' Arms and claiming a Title to my King-
 ' dom, yet I could hardly be perswaded,
 ' but that these seeds of hatred came from
 ' others and not from her self : However,
 ' the case stands, I hope she does not
 ' pretend to take away my Crown whilst
 ' I am alive, nor hinder my Children, if
 ' I have any, to Succeed me in the King-
 ' dom. But if any Calamity should hap-
 ' pen to me before, as she shall never
 ' find that I have done any thing to pre-
 ' judice the right she pretends to have to
 ' the Kingdom of *England*, so I never
 ' thought my self obliged to make a dis-
 ' quisition into what that right is, and I
 ' am of the same mind still, and so shall
 ' leave it to those who are skillfull in the
 ' Law to determine. As for your Queen,
 ' she

' she may expect this confidently of me
 ' that if her cause be just, I shall not
 ' prejudice it in the least. I call God
 ' to witness, that next to my self, I know
 ' none that I would prefer before her,
 ' or if the matter come to a dispute, that
 ' can exclude her ; Thou knowest, said
 ' she, who are the Competitors, by what
 ' assistance, or in hopes of what Force,
 ' can such poor Creatures attempt
 ' such a mighty thing ? After some fur-
 ' ther discourse, the Conclusion was short ;
 ' That it was a business of great weight
 ' and moment, and that this was the first
 ' time she had entertained serious thoughts
 ' about it, and therefore she had need of
 ' longer time to dispatch it. Some Days
 after she sent for the Ambassador again,
 and told him, That she extreamly won-
 dered why the Nobility should demand
 such a thing of her, upon the first ar-
 rival of the Queen, especially knowing
 that the causes of former offences were
 not yet taken away ; But continued
 she, ' What, pray do they require ? that
 ' I having been so much wronged should
 ' before any satisfaction received gra-
 ' tify her in so large a manner ; This
 ' demand is not far from a threat : If they
 ' proceed on in this way, let them know,
 ' that I have Force at home, and Friends
 ' abroad as well as they, who will defend
 ' my

my just right. To which he answered, That he had shewn clearly at first, how that the Nobility had insisted on this hopefull Medium of Concord, partly out of Duty to their own Queen, in a prospect to maintain her weal, and increase her Dignity, and partly out of a desire to contribute and settle publick Peace and Amity, and that they dealt more plainly with her then with any other Prince. In this Cause, proceeds, said he, your known and experimented good will towards them, and also upon the account of their own safety; For they knew they must venture Life and Fortune if any body did oppose the right of the Queen, or if any War did arise betwixt the Nations on that Account. And therefore their desires did not seem unwarrantable or unjust, as tending to the eradicating the seeds of all Discords and the settling of a firm and solid Peace. She rejoyned, ' If I had Acted any thing
' that might diminish your Queens right,
' then your demand might have been Just,
' that what was amiss might be amended;
' but this postulation is without an Example, that I should wrap my self up in
' my Winding-Sheet while I am alive,
' neither was the like asked before by any Prince; however I take not the good
' intention of your Nobility amiss and
' the

‘the rather because it is an Evidence to
‘me, that they have a desire to pro-
‘mote the Interest and Honour of their
‘Queen ; And I do put as great a value
‘upon their prudence in providing for
‘their own security, and of being tender
‘of shedding Christian Blood, which could
‘not be avoided if any faction should a-
‘rise to Challenge the Kingdom, but what
‘such party can there be, or where should
‘they have Force? But to let these consi-
‘derations pass, suppose I were inclina-
‘ble to assent to their demands, do you
‘think I would do it rather at the Re-
‘quest of the Nobles than of the Queen
‘her self? But there are many other things
‘that avert me from such a Transaction.
‘First, I am not ignorant how dangerous
‘a thing it is to venture upon the dis-
‘pute, the disceptation concerning the right
‘of the Kingdom I always mightily avoid-
‘ed, for the controversy has been al-
‘ready so much canvassed in the months
‘of many, concerning a Just and Lawfull
‘Marriage, and what Children were Ba-
‘stards and what Legitimate, according
‘as every one is addicted to this or that
‘that party ; that by reason of these
‘disputes, I have been hitherto more back-
‘ward in Marrying. Once when I took
‘the Crown publickly upon me, I Mar-
‘ried my self to the Kingdom, and I
‘wear

' wear the Ring I then put on my Finger,
 ' as a Badge thereof, however my Reso-
 ' lution stands, *I will be Queen of England*
 ' *as long as I live*, and when I am dead let
 ' that Person Succeed in my place which
 ' hath most right to it, and if that chance
 ' to be your Queen, I will put no obstacle
 ' to it. But if another hath a better
 ' Title, 'twere an unjust Request to me, to
 ' make a publick edict to his prejudice;
 ' If there be any Law against your Queen
 ' 'tis unknown to me, and I have no great
 ' delight to sift into it, but if there should
 ' be any such Law, I was sworn at my
 ' Coronation that I would not change my
 ' Subjects Laws. As for the Second Al-
 ' legation, that the Declaration of my
 ' Succe or will knit a stricter bond of A-
 ' mity betwixt us, I am afraid rather it
 ' will be a seminary of hatred and discon-
 ' tent ; What do you think I am willing
 ' to have some of my Grave Cloaths al-
 ' ways before my Eyes ? Kings have this
 ' peculiarity, that they have some kind of
 ' sentiments against their own Children,
 ' who are born Lawfull Heirs to Succeed
 ' them. Thus *Charles VII. of France* some-
 ' what disgusted *Lewis XI. and Lewis XII.*
 ' *Charles VIII. and of late Francis* ill re-
 ' sented *Henry*, and how it is likely, I
 ' should stand affected towards my Kinf-
 ' woman , If she be once Declared my
 ' Heir ?

'Heir, just as *Charles VII.* was towards
 ' *Lewis XI.* besides, and that which weighs
 ' most with me, I know the inconstancy
 ' of this people, I know how they loath
 ' the present State of things, I know how
 ' intent their Eyes are upon a Successor.
 ' 'Tis natural for all men as the Proverb is,
 ' *To worship rather the rising than sitting Sun.*
 ' I have learned that from my own times,
 ' to omit other Examples when my Sister
 ' *Mary* was at the Helm, how eager did
 ' some Men desire to see me placed on
 ' the Throne, How solicitous were they
 ' in advancing me thereto ; I am not ig-
 ' norant what danger they would have
 ' undergone to bring their design to an
 ' issue, if my Will had concurred with
 ' their Designs: Now perhaps the same
 ' Men are otherwise minded, just like
 ' Children when they dream of Apples
 ' in their sleep, they are very Joyfull, but
 ' waking in the morning, and finding them-
 ' selves frustrate of their hopes their mirth
 ' is turned into mourning. Thus I am
 ' dealt with by those, who whilst I was
 ' yet a private Woman, wished me so
 ' well ; If I looked upon any of them
 ' a little more pleasant than ordinary,
 ' they thought presently with themselves
 ' that as soon as ever I came to the Throne,
 ' they should be rewarded rather at the
 ' rate of their own desires, than of the
 ' Service

Service they performed for me. But now seeing the event hath not answered expectation, some of them do gape after a new change of things in hopes of a better Fortune, for the wealth of a Prince, tho never so great cannot satisfy the unsatiable desires of all Men : But if the good will of my Subjects do flag towards me, or if their minds are changed, because I am not profuse enough in my Largesses, or for some other cause, what will be the event, when the malevolent shall have a Successor named, to whom they may make their grievances known, and in their anger and pet betake themselves ? What danger shall I then be in, when so powerful a Neighbour Prince is my Successor, the more strength I add to her in asserting her Succession, the more I detract from my own security ; This danger cannot be avoided by any precautions, or by any bands of Law ; yet those Princes who have hope of a Kingdom offer'd them, will hardly contain themselves within the bounds either of Law or Equity : for my part if my Successor were publicly declared to the World, I should think my affairs to be far from being settled and secured.

A few

A few days after, the Ambassador asked the Queen, Whether she would return any Answer to the Letter of the Scottish Nobility? I have nothing, *said she*, at present, to answer, only I commend their Diligence and Love to their Prince, but the matter is of such great weight, that I cannot so soon give a plain and express answer thereunto, but when the Queen shall have done her Duty, in Confirming the League she obliged her self to Ratifie, then 'twill be seasonable to try my Affection towards her; in the mean time, I cannot gratifie her in her Request without Diminution to my own Dignity: The Ambassador reply'd, He had no Command about that Affair, nor ever had any Discourse with his Mistress concerning the same; neither did he then propound the Queen's Judgment concerning the Right of Succession but his own, and had brought Reasons to enforce it; but as for the Confirmation of the League by her Husband, 'twas enforced from the Queen of Scots without the Consent of those to whom the Ratifying or Disannulling thereof did much concern; neither was the thing of such consequence, as therefore to exclude her and her Posterity from the Inheritance of England; I do not enquire, *said he*, by whom, how, when, by what Authority, and for what Reason that League was made, seeing I had no command to speak about any such matter; but this I dare affirm, that though it were confirmed by her in

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Compliance with her Husbands Desire, yet so great a stress depending on it, his Queen in time, would find out some reason or other, why it should and ought to be dissolved: I speak not this, *said he*, in the name of the Queen, but my intent is to shew, that our Nobility have cause for what they do, that so all Controversies being plucked up by the Roots, a firm and sure Peace may be established amongst us. As this aggravated the Spirits of Queen *Elizabeth*, so it was no doubt a great Mortification to Queen *Mary*; but truckle she must, and so she confirmed the League, resigning any Pretensions to wear the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* during the others Life; and some time after an interview between both Queens was appointed to be at *York*, but some accidents fell out that prevented it, and though the Queen of *Scots* was afterwards detained in *England* for so many years together, (the causes whereof we are now a going to shew you) yet they never saw one another all their days; and because the Story of *David Rizzio* has so great a Connection with the Misfortunes of this Queen, it will be necessary in this place to give you the Particulars of it.

This *David Rizzio* was born at *Turin* in *Savoy*, his Father an honest poor Man, that got a mean livelihood for himself and his Family, by Teaching the Elements of Music, and having no other Patrimony to leave his Children, he made them all, of
both

both Sexes, skillful Musicians. *David* was one of the number; who being in the Prime of his Youth, and having an excellent Voice, was by his Skill in Musick raised up to the hopes of a better Fortune; he went first to *Nice*, where the Duke of *Savoy* then kept his Court, but meeting with no entertainment there conformable to his hopes, and contriving every way how to relieve him in his Penury, he light upon one *Morretius*, who, by the Dukes Command was then preparing to go for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, whom he followed thither; but *Morretius* being himself a Man of no great Fortune, and looking upon his Service as useless and unnecessary, *David* resolved to stay in *Scotland*, and try his Fortune there, especially because he understood the Queen delighted in Musick; and was not ignorant of the Rudiments thereof her self; whereupon to make way into her Presence, he first dealt with her Musicians, of whom many were French, to admit him to be one of their Society, which they did; and having plaid his part once or twice, was liked very well; whereupon he was introduced to be one of their Set or Company, and he so complied with the Queen's Humour, that what by flattering of her, and what by undermining of others, he grew into high Favour with her, and into the extream Hatred of his Fellows; neither did he Content himself with this favourable blast of Fortune, but he held his

equals in Contempt, and by sundry Accusations wormed them out of their places, and began to Treat about Matters of State, and at last was made Secretary, and by that means had private Converse with the Queen apart from others. The sudden advance of this Man from a low and almost beggerly State to such Power, Wealth, and Grandeur, afforded matter of Discourse to the People; his Fortune was far above his Virtue, and his Arrogance and Contempt of his Equals, and Contention with Superiours, did far exceed his Fortune; and this Vanity and Madnes of the Man was much augmented by the flattery of the Nobility, who sought his Friendship, Courted him, and admired his Judgment, walked before his Lodgings observing his Egress and Regress; but the Earl of *Murray* alone, the Queen's base Brother, but a Man of Virtue and Sobriety, and such as had no Dissimulation in his Heart, was so far from fawning on *David*, that he gave him many a soure look, which troubled the Queen as much as *David* himself: Now about this time, did *Matthew Steward*, Earl of *Lennox*, get leave of the Queen to return to *Scotland*, with his Son, *Henry Lord Darnley*, a young Nobleman of an high Lineage, and most goodly Personage, being Cousin German to the Queen, who received him very Courteously, and delighting daily in his Society, did at last resolve to Marry him. *David* therefore to make his Party
good

good against *Murray*, applies himself with great Adulation to this young Gentleman, who was to be the Queen's Husband, so that he came to be so familiar with him, as to be admitted to his Chamber and Bed side, and to secret Conference with him, where he perswaded him, out of his unwary Credulity and forwardness to compass his desires, that he was the chief occasion to make the Queen cast her Eye upon him; besides, he cast in Seeds of Discord between him and *Murray* every day, as knowing, that if he were removed, he should pass the remainder of his Life without Affront or Disturbance; and there being now much talk abroad, not only of the Queen's Marriage with *Darnley*, and his secret Recourse to her, but also of the too great familiarity between her and *David Rizzio*, *Murray* by his down-right dealing with her upon these accounts, got nothing but her Hatred, and so leaves the Court, that he might not be thought the Author of what was acted there; but the Queen finding that *Murray* was highly favoured of the People, was so incensed against him, that she hastened his long before designed end, and the manner to accomplish it was thus: *Murray* was to be sent for to *Perth*, where the Queen was with a few Attendants, there *Darnley* was to Discourse him, and in the Conference they all knew he would speak his Mind freely, and then a Quarrel would arise, upon which, *David*

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Rizzio was to give the first blow, and then the rest were to wound him to Death. *Murray* was made acquainted with this Conspiracy by his Friends at Court, yet, come what would, he resolved to go; but as he was on his Journey, being again advertised of the design by *Patrick Ruven*, he turned aside to his Mother's House near *Loch-Leven*, and being troubled with a Lask, excused himself, and staid there. Thither some of his Friends came to visit him, whereupon a Report was presently spread about, that he staid there to intercept the Queen and *Darnley* in their return to *Edenburg*; upon this, Horsemen were sent out, but they discover'd no Men in Arms, or sign of any force; yet the Queen made such haste, and was so fearful in this Journey, as if some great danger had been at hand.

This hopeful Plot was the Preludium to the unhappy Marriage that soon after succeeded; to which end a great part of the Nobility were called together at *Sterlin*, that so the Queen might countenance her Will and Pleasure with some pretence of publick Consent, most of those they sent for were such as they knew would easily give their Assent, or else, that durst not oppose; many of those so Congregated, assented to the motion, provided always, that no alteration should be made in the then established Religion. As for *Murray* he was not averse from the Marriage, (for he was the first Adviser that the young man should

should be called out of *England*) but he foresaw what Tumult it would occasion, if it were Celebrated without the Queen of *England's* Consent; besides, he promised to procure her Consent, that so all things might go on favourably; but perceiving there would be no freedom of Debate in that Convention, he chose rather to be absent than to declare his Opinion, which might prove destructive to himself, and no way advantageous to the Commonwealth. The Vulgar also were very free in their Debates about the freedom or not freedom of the Queen to Dispose of her self in Marriage, till at length came an English Ambassador, who declared, That his Mistress did much admire, that seeing both of them were equally Allied to her, they should precipitate so great an Affair without acquainting her with it; and therefore she earnestly desired that they would stay a while, and weigh the thing somewhat more seriously, to the great Benefit, probably of both Kingdoms. But this Embassy effected nothing, so that Queen *Elizabeth* dispatched Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to tell the Earl of *Lennox* and his Son, that they had a Convoy from her to return at a set day into *England*, and that day was now past, and therefore she commanded them to return, which if they refused, they were to be Banished, and their Goods Confiscated. But this Commination would not do neither, but they persisted in their purpose;

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and because the Queen of *Scots* would not be thought to Marry a private man, she Creates *Darnley* Duke of *Rothsay*, and Earl of *Ross*; moreover, the Predictions of Wizzardly Women in both Kingdoms, did contribute much to hasten the Marriage, who Prophesied, That if it were Consummate before the end of *July*, it foretold much future advantage to them both; if not, much Reproach and Ignominy; which Predictions, how true, will appear by and by. Besides, there were Rumours spread abroad of the Death of the Queen of *England*, and the day mentioned before which she should Die.

This Marriage was no sooner Consummate and Proclaimed by an Herauld at Arms in *Edenburg*, and elsewhere, but the People began to murmur grievously, and especially the absent Nobility stormed mightily at it; and did not only rest there, but take up Arms: but having no good Correspondence one with another, they were soon dissipated and suppress'd; and in some time after a Convention of the Estates of the Kingdom was Indicted to be held, that so the Goods of those who were Banished might be Confiscate, their Names struck out of the Nobility, and their Armorial Ensigns torn to pieces. And the Queen was continually solicited by *David Rizzio*, to cut off some of the Chief of the Faction, and to have a Guard of Foreigners about her Person, (a project that is wont to be the beginning

of

of all Tyranny,) and because they should be the more at *David's* Devotion, they must consist of Italians, his own Countrymen; but because this must not be done bare-faced, they were to come in from *Flanders* by piece-meal, one by one, and at several times too, which way of procedure was another step towards this Queen's Ruin. But as *David's* Power and Authority with the Queen daily increased, so the King grew into greater Contempt with her every day; for as she had rashly precipitate in Consummating the Marriage, so did she as soon repent of it, and gave manifest Indications of her alienated Mind. For as she had presently after the Celebration of the Marriage, publickly proclaimed him King by an Herauld, without the Consent of the States; and that afterwards, in all her Mandates, till that time, the King and Queens Names were express, now she changed the Order, keeping both Names in, but setting her own down first. At length, the Queen, to deprive her Husband of any opportunity to do Courtesies to any, began to find fault with him, that whilst he was busie in Hawking and Hunting, many slight matters were acted unseasonably, or else were wholly neglected; and therefore it would do better that she should subscribe her Name for them both, and by this means he might enjoy his Pleasure, and yet no publick Business be retarded. The poor King was willing to gratifie her in every thing,

thing, and yielded to be dismiss upon such frivolous Grounds; that so being remote from the Council and Privacy of publick Affairs, the obligation for all Boons might redound to the Queen her self. For these were her Thoughts, that if her Husbands Favour could do no good Offices to any, and his Displeasure were formidable to none, he would by Degrees come to be contemned of all. And further to increase the Indignity, *David* was substituted, with an Iron Seal, to impress the Kings Name on Proclamations: Being thus fraudulently Coshed out of Publick Business, lest he might also prove an interrupter of their private Pleasures, he was dispatch'd away in a very sharp Winter, to a place called *Debly*, with a very small Retinue, far beneath the Dignity of some private Persons, for a Prey rather than for any Recreation; At the same time fell such a quantity of Snow, that the place, which was not very plentiful at best, and besides troubled with Thieves, was enough to starve him, who was bred always at Court, and used to a Liberal Diet: And he would have been in great hazards of wanting Necessaries, had not the Bishop of *Orkney* casually came thither; for he knowing the scarcity of the place, brought with him some Wine, and other Provisions for his use.

The Queen, not Content to advance *David*, and as 'twere, to shew him to the People, from such an obscure Original, on the

the account before-mentioned, but she took Counsel another way, how to Cloath him with Domestick Honour; for whereas the Queen had for some Months past permitted more Company than usual to sit with her at Table, that so *David's* place in the crowd might be less envied; She thought, by this shew of Popularity to gain the point, that the unaccustomedness of the sight might by the multitudes of guests and daily usage, be somewhat alleviated, and so mens high Spirits by degrees be inured to bear any thing. But at last, it went so far, that none but he and one or two more sat at Meat with her; and that the narrowness of the Room might detract something from the Envy of the thing, she would sometimes Eat her Junkets in a little Parlour, and sometimes also at *David's* Lodgings; but the Methods she thus used to lessen, did but increase the Reflections, for this maintained Suspensions, and administred occasions to add Discourses. Now were Men's Thoughts let loose, and they were influenced the more; that *David*, in Household-stuff, Apparel, and number of brave and stately Horses, exceeded even the King himself; and it made the matter look the worse, that all this Ornament did not credit his Face, but that rather his Face spoiled all this Ornament. But the Queen not being able to amend the fault of Nature, endeavoured by heaping Riches and Honour upon him, to raise him up to the Degree of the

the Nobles, that so she might hide the meanness of his Birth, and the imperfections of his Body too, with the vail of his lofty Promotions; but care must be had that he should be advanced by Degrees, least he might seem to be but a poor mercenary Senator. The first attempt was made upon the account of a piece of Land, near the City of *Edenburg*, called by the *Scots*, *Malvil*: The Owner of the Land, together with his Father-in-Law, and others that were best able to perswade him, were sent for, and the Queen dealt with the present Possessor to part with his Inheritance; and she desired his Father-in-Law and Friends to perswade him to it: But this matter not meeting with the desired success, the Queen took the repulse as a great Affront to her, and which was worse, *David* took it very hainously also. These things being known abroad, the Commonalty began to bewail the sad state of Affairs, and expected that things would grow worse, if Men, eminent for their Families, Estates, and Credit, should be outed of their ancient Patrimony, to gratifie the Lust of a beggerly Varlet. Yea, many of the Elder sort called to mind, and told others of the time, when *Cockburn* wickedly slew the Kings Brother, and of a Stone-cutter, was made Earl of *Marr*, which raised up such a flame of a Civil War that could not be extinguished but by the Death of the King, and almost the Destruction of the Kingdom.

These

These things were spoken openly, but Men did privately mutter much worse; yet the King would never be perswaded to believe it, unless he saw it with his own Eyes; so that one time hearing, that *David* was gone into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, he came to a little Door, of which he always carried the Key about him, and found it Bolted on the inside, which it never used to be: whereupon he knocked, but no body answered, and so he was forced to go his ways, but conceived great Wrath and Indignation in his Heart that he could not sleep that Night. From that time forward he consulted with some of his Servants, (for he durst trust but a very few, many of them having been corrupted by the Queen, and put upon him rather as Spies over his Actions, than Attendants upon his Person) how to rid *David* out of the way: His design they approved of, but to find out a probable way to effect it was the difficulty. When that Consultation had been managed for some days, others of his Servants, who were not privy to the Design, suspecting the matter, and there being evident signs of it, went and acquainted the Queen therewith, and withall told her, that they would bring her to the place where they were, and they were as good as their words. For to that end they observed and watcht the opportunity, when others were shut out, and the King had only his Confidants about him, and ordered it so, that
the

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the Queen, as if passing through his Chamber to her own, surprized him with her Partizans: whereupon she inveighed bitterly against him, and highly threatned his Domesticks, telling them all their Plots were in vain, for she knew all their Minds and Actions, and would remedy them well enough in due time. Things being brought to this desperate pass, the King thought fit to acquaint his Father, the Earl of *Lennox*, with his sad Condition; and after some Conference, they both concluded, that the only remedy for the present Malady, was to reconcile that part of the Nobility which were present, and to recal those that were absent. But great expedition was required in the thing, because the day was near at hand, wherein the Queen had resolved to Condemn the Nobles that were absent, having appointed a Convention of the States for that purpose, against the Wills of the English and French Ambassadors, who interceded in the case; for they well knew that the accused had not committed such heinous Offences, and besides, foresaw the danger that would ensue thereupon. About the same time did Queen *Elizabeth* send her a very obliging and long Letter, full of good Advice in reference to the present State of her Kingdom, and endeavouring to reduce her from a wrathful to a reconcileable Temper. The Queen coming to understand that the Nobility knew that such Letters were come, and that they guesled

guessed at the Contents of them, she counterfeited a civiller respect to them than ordinary, and began to read the Letters in the presence of many of them. But when she was got about the middle, *David* stood up, and bid her, *Read no more, she had read enough, she should stop*; which strange carriage of his seemed to them rather Arrogant than New, for they knew how imperiously he had carried it towards her heretofore, yea, and sometimes how he would reprove her more sharply than ever her own Husband durst do.

At that time the Cause of the Banished Lords was hotly agitated in the Parliament House; some to gratifie the Queen's Humour would have the punishment due to Traytors past upon them; others stiffly contended, that they had done nothing worthy to be so severely used: but *David* in the mean time went about to all of them, one by one, to feel their Pulses, what every Man's Vote would be concerning the Exiles, if he was chosen President by the rest of the Convention; And he told them plainly, the Queen was resolved to have them Condemned, that it was in vain for any of them to struggle against it, and besides, who ever did, should be sure to incur the Queen's Displeasure thereby. His aim herein was partly to confound the weaker Minds betwixt hope and fear, and partly to exclude the most resolute out of the number of the Judges Select, or Lords of the

the Articles, or at least that the major part might be of such a Gizzard as to please the Queen; and this audacious procedure and wickedness in so mean a Fellow, was feared by some and hated by all. Whereupon the King, by his Father's Advice, sent to *James Douglas* and *Patrick Lindsey*, his Kinsmen, the one by the Father, and the other by the Mothers side, who advise with *Patrick Raven*, an able man both for Advice and Execution, but he was brought so low with long Sickness, that for some months he could not get out of his Bed. However they were willing to trust him, amongst some few more, in a matter of so great a Concernment, both by reason of his great Prudence, as also because his Children were Cousin-Germans to the King. But here the King was told by them, what a great Error he had committed before in suffering his Kinsmen and Friends to be driven from Court, in favour of such a base Rascal as *Rizzio*; yea, that he himself did in effect thrust them out of the Court with his own Hands, and so had advanced such a contemptible Mushroom, so as that now he himself was abashed and despised of him. They had also much other discourse concerning the State of the publick, and the King was quickly brought to acknowledge his Fault, and to promise, to act nothing for the future without the Consent of the Nobility.

But

But those wise and experienc'd Counsellors thought it not safe to trust the verbal promises of an uxorious young man, as believing that he might be prevailed upon in time by his Wife, to deny this Capitulation, to their certain Ruin, and therefore they thought it adviseable, to draw up the Heads of their Agreement in Writing, to which he willingly and forwardly subscribed: The substance whereof was, That Religion should be established as it was provided for at the Queen's return into *Scotland*; That the Persons lately Banish'd should be Recall'd, because their Country could not well want their Service; and that *David* must be destroy'd, for as long as he was alive the King could not maintain his Dignity, nor the Nobility live in Safety; having all set their Hands to this Schedule, wherein the King professed himself the Author of the Homicide; they presently resolved to attempt the Fact, both to prevent the Condemnation of the Nobility that were absent, as also lest delay might give an opportunity to discover the design; and therefore, when the Queen was at Supper one evening, the Earl of *Argyle's* Wife, and *David*, sitting with her, and that in a narrow private room, and that there were but a few Attendants about them, for the place would not hold many, *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton*, with a great number of his Friends, were walking in an outward Chamber; their faithful Friends and Vassals were

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commanded to stay below in the Yard, to
 quiet the Tumult, if any should arise:
 The King comes out of his Chamber which
 was below the Queen's, and goes up to her
 by a narrow pair of Stairs, which were
 open to none but himself: and was fol-
 lowed by Patrick, Raven armed, with but
 four or five Companions more at most, and
 entering into the Closet where they were at
 Supper, and the Queen being somewhat
 moved at the unusual appearance of armed
 Men, and also perceiving Raven in an un-
 comely posture, and meagre by reason of his
 late illness, but yet in his Armour, asked
 him, What was the matter, for the Spe-
 ctators thought that his Fever had distur-
 bed his Head, and put him besides himself;
 but they were soon convinced of that mi-
 stake, for he immediately commanded David
 to rise and come out, for the place where
 he sat was not fit for him: The Queen
 presently got up, and sought to defend
 him by the interposal of her Body, but the
 King took her in his Arms, and bid her be
 of good cheer, they would do her no hurt,
 only the Death of that Villain was resolved on;
 and thereupon they halest David into the
 next Room, then into the outer Room,
 and there those that waited with Douglas
 made an end of him with many Wounds,
 which was against the Mind of all those
 that Conspired his Death; for they had re-
 solved to Hang him up publickly, all know-
 ing it would have been a grateful Spectacle

to all the People. There was a constant Report at that time, That one *John Damiot* a French Priest, counted a Conjuror, told *David* once or twice, that now he had feathered his Nest; it was time for him to be gone, and withdraw himself from the Envy of the Nobles, who would at length prove too hard for him, and that he should make answer, The Scots were greater Threatners than Fighters: He was also warned a little before his Death, That he should take heed of a Bastard, to which he replied, That as long as he lived, no Bastard should have so much Power in Scotland, as that he had need to be afraid of him; for he thought his Danger was predicted from the Earl of *Murray*, the Queen's Natural Brother; but the Prophecy was either fulfilled or eluded, by *George Dowglass's* giving him the first Blow, who was a base begotten Son of the Earl of *Angus*; after he had began, then every one rushed in to strike him, either to Revenge their own particular Grief, or the publick Concern. This was the end of the so highly honoured *David Rizzio*, whose Original and Profession we have given you an account of before, and to which last, with some other of the now recited passages, no doubt of it, *Henry IV. of France* afterwards alluded, when one in his presence, taking occasion to extol the Wisdom of King *James*, and calling him by the Name of *Salomon*, he said, *Well he might be termed so, seeing he was the Son of David the Fidler.*

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David was no sooner killed, but a tumult arose all the House over, for the Earls of *Huntley, Athol, and Bothwell*, who were together at Supper in another part of the Palace, were rushing out, but they were kept within their Chamber by those who guarded the Courts below, and had no harm done them: When *Ruven*, (who you see, was a prime Manager of this Affair, and who did as it were give *David* his Death's Wound, by commanding of him out of the Queen's Presence as aforesaid) went out of that Privy-Room into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, where not being able to stand, because of his Weakness, he sat down and called for something to Drink; whereupon the Queen fell upon him with such Words, as her present grief and fury suggested to her, calling him a Perfidious Traytor, asking him, How he durst be so Impudent as to be in her Presence, sitting, whereas she her self stood; this he excused, as not done out of any Contempt or want of the Sense of his Duty, but out of the weakness of his Body; but gravely and wisely advised her, that in managing the Affairs of the Kingdom, she would rather Consult the Nobility, who had a concern in the publick, than Vagrant Rascals, who could give no pledge of their Fidelity, and who had nothing to hazard, either in Estate or Credit; neither was the Fact then committed without a President; that *Scotland* was a Kingdom bounded by Laws, and
was

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was never wont to be govern'd by the Will and Pleasure of any one Man, but by the Regulation of the Law, and Consent of the Nobility; and if any former King had done otherwise, 'tis certain he had smarted severely for it: Neither were the *Scots* at this day so far degenerated from their Ancestors, as to bear not only the Government, but even the Servitude of a Stranger, who was scarce worthy to be their Slave: This Speech did enrage the Queen more than before; whereupon the company departed, having placed Guards in all convenient places for fear any Tumults should arise.

In the mean time what was transacted flew all over the Town, and as every ones Disposition was, right or wrong, they took Arms, and away they went to the Palace, where the King shewed himself unto them out of a Window, and told the multitude, That he and the Queen were safe, and that there was no cause for their Tumultuous Assembly; for what was done, was done by his Order, and what that was should be known in due time, and therefore at present everyone should go to his own House; upon which command they withdrew, except some few that staid to keep Guard. Next morning, the Nobles that returned from *England*, taking the opportunity, offered to come to their Trial in the Town-Hall, being ready to plead their Cause, for that was the day appointed, but none ap-

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pearing against them, they openly protested
 it was not their Fault, for they were ready
 to submit to a Legal Trial, and so every
 one returned to his own Lodgings. The
 Queen, under these Perplexities, sent for
 her Brother *Murray*, and after a long Con-
 ference, gave him hopes that she would for
 ever after commit her self to her Nobles;
 hereupon the Guards were slackened, tho'
 many thought that her Clemency did pre-
 sage no good to the publick, for she ga-
 thered together the Soldiers of her old
 Guard, and went through a back Gate by
 night, with *George Seaton*, who attended
 upon her with 800 Horse, first to his own
 Castle, then to *Dumbar*: She also carried
 the King along with her, who for fear of
 his Life, was forced to Obey. When she
 came thither, she hastned to gather Forces
 together, and pretending a Reconciliation
 with those that were lately returned from
 Banishment, she turned her fury upon the
 Slayers of *David*, and put out a severe Pro-
 clamation against them; many of them
 that were accused were Banished, some to
 one place and some to another; some were
 Fined, but they that were most Innocent,
 and therefore thought themselves most se-
 cure, were put to Death; but the princi-
 pal Contrivers of the Fact were fled, some
 to *England*, and others to the *Higblands*;
 And such as were least suspected to have
 an hand in it, were dispossessed of their Offi-
 ces and Employments, and their Enemies
 put

put into their Places, and to colour her rigorous Proceedings against the rest, a Proclamation was made by an Herald, in such a publick sorrow, not without Laughter, that no man should say, the King had any hand in, or was privy to *David's* Slaughter; but what was stranger than all the rest, was, That she caused *David's* Body, which was Buried before the Door of a Neighbour Church, to be removed in the night, and placed in the Sepulchre of the late King and his Children; which gave occasion to ill-favoured Reports for the blemishing of her Honour; for what greater Confession of Adultery with him could she well make, than as far as she was able, to equal such an obscure Fellow, who was neither well brought up, nor had deserved well of the publick, in his last Funerals, with her Father and Brothers? And to increase the Indignity of the thing, she put the Varlet almost in the Arms of *Magdalen de Valois*, the late Queen: As for her Husband, she threatned him, and obliquely in her Discourses scoff'd at him, doing her utmost endeavour to take away all Power from him, and to render him as contemptible as she could: But the time of her Delivery now drawing nigh, she was Reconciled to the Earls of *Murray* and *Argyle*, and retir'd to *Edinburg-Castle*, where on the 19th day of *June* 1566. a little after 9 in the morning, she was brought to Bed of a Son, afterward called *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and the First of *Great Britain*.

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After her Delivery she received all other Visitants with kindness enough, suitable to the occasion of a publick Joy, but her Husband, to whom she should have been most kind but his presence was disdained, and his company unacceptable. And now the Earl of *Bothwell* is the Man, 'tis he that managed all Affairs, and the Queen was so inclined to him, that she would have it understood, no suit would be obtain'd from her but by his Mediation; and as if she were afraid her favour to him were but mean, and not sufficiently known, she took on a certain day one or two with her, and went down to the Haven called *New-Haven*, and her Attendance not knowing whether she intended, she went a-board a small Vessel, prepared there for her, by some of *Bothwell's* Creatures, who were Pyrates of known Rapacy; with this Guard of Robbers, she ventured to Sea, to the Admiration of all good Men, taking none of her honest Servants along with her, and Landed at *Allopy*, a Castle of the Earl of *Mar's*, where she demean'd her self for some time, (saith *Buchanan*) as if she had forgot not only the Dignity of a Queen, but even the Modesty of a Matron; but these Joys will one Day turn sharp and sower. The Poor King when he heard of her Departure, followed her by Land as fast as he could, his Designs and Hopes, being to be with her, and to enjoy Conjugal Society, as Man and Wife; but he, as an importunate disturber of her Pleasures,

Pleasures, was bid to go back from whence he came, and had hardly time allowed him for his Servants to refresh themselves. A few Days after, when she returned to *Edinburgh*, she would not go into her own Palace, but took up her Lodgings, where the Annual Convention called the *Exchequer Court* was then held; for it seems *David Chalmers*, a Creature of *Bothwell's*, had a House near it, whose back Door was Contiguous to the Queen's Garden, through which *Bothwell* might pass in and out to her at his pleasure; and the King in the mean time, finding no place for favour, and being tired with impeads, retired after her in discontent; a while after, the Queen went to *Jedburgh*, to hold a Convention, and *Bothwell* in some time to *Liddisdail*, where he was wounded by a High-way-Pad, and so was carried to *Hermitage Castle*, in great danger of his Life; but when the News was brought thereof to the Queen, then at *Barthwick*, tho' the Winter was very sharp, yet she flew in haste, first to *Malrose*, then to *Jedburgh*, and tho' she received certain Intelligence there, that *Bothwell* was alive, yet being impatient of any delay, and not able to forbear, tho' in such a bad time of the Year, notwithstanding the Difficulty of the way, and the Danger of Robbery, she put her self on her Journey, with such an Attendance, as hardly any honest Man, tho' he were but of a mean Condition, would trust his Life and Fortune to. From thence she returned
again

again to *Fedburgh*, and made great and diligent Preparation, that *Boithwell* should be brought thither; but here it was that she fell into a fore and most dangerous Sickness, so as no body expected she would have lived; but she recovered it, being designed for a worse Fate; when the King heard of her Illness, he posted to *Fedburgh*, both to give her a Visit, and to testifie his observance, by all the good Offices he could do; and also to incline her to a better course of Life, hoping she might now repent for what she had done, as Persons in great danger are wont to do. But she on the contrary, gave him not the least Sign of a reconciled Mind, but gave a Charge, that no body should rise up nor Salute him, as he came in, or to give him any Entertainment so much as for one Night; but at the same time suspecting the Disposition of the Earl of *Murray*, as courteous and civil, tampered with his Wife, to make hast now to fain her self Sick, and go immediately to Bed; that so under colour of that Sickness, the King might be excluded from thence; yea, she made it her business to enforce him to be gone, for want of Lodging, which he had plainly been necessitated to do, had it not been for one of the Family of the *Humes*, who for very shame pretended a sudden cause for his departure, and so left his Lodgings free for the King next Day: in the Morning, he was commanded away from thence to *Sterlin* again, which Order for his return,

was the more reflected on, because at the very same time *Bothwell* was carryed out of the place where he Lodged, to the Queen's Lodging, in the Face of all the People; and tho' neither of them were well recovered, she from her Sickneſs, and he from his Wounds, yet they Journeyed, firſt to *Kellsa*, then to *Coldingham*, and next to *Cragmiller*, not caring for the Reports, that were ſpread of them by the way; and 'twas obſerved, that the Queen in all her Diſcourſe, profeſſed, that ſhe could never live, unleſs ſhe were Divorced from the King; and ever and anon ſaid, a Divorce might eaſily be obtained, if the Popes Bull were recalled; whereby leave was given them to Contract the Marriage againſt the Papal Laws: but ſeeing this matter was not like to ſucceed, as ſhe expected, ſhe left of other Methods, and applyed her Mind wholly to his Murder.

And as a Manifeſtation of her Affections to *Bothwell*, and her Hatred to her Husband, when a little before Winter, the Ambaſſadors of *England* and *France*, came to be Witneſſes at the Baptiſm of the Prince; ſhe ſtrove both by pecuniary and all other induſtrious ways, that *Bothwell* ſhould appear the moſt magnificent of any among all her Subjects and Guests at the Entertainment; whereas her Lawful Husband at the Baptiſm, was not allowed neceſſaries; yea, was forbid to come in ſight of the Ambaſſadors; his Servants alſo appointed for his
Daily

Daily Attendants, were taken from him, and the Nobility forbid to pay any observance to him; But in her present carriage, and comportment in times past, by how much the more implacable she was towards him, by so much the more did the People pity him, by seeing a Young and an harmless Gentleman thus reproachfully used, and yet not only to bear it patiently, but even to endeavour to appease her Rage by the Servilest Offices he could perform, that so he might gain some Degree in her Favour. As for his Apparel and Dress, she threw the Fault upon the Embroiderers, Goldsmiths, and other Tradesmen, tho' it was but a false shameless pretence; For it, was well known to every body, it was her doings. Whereas for *Borbwell's* Ornament, she wrought many of them with her own Hands; besides the Foreign Ambassadors were advised, not to enter into any Conference with the King, tho' they were in the same Castle together, for the most part of the Day.

The young Gentleman being thus uncourteously used, exposed to the scorn of all, and his Rival honoured before his Face, resolved to retire to his Father to *Glasgow*, who as some conceived, had sent for him; and that nothing might be wanting on the Queen's part to shew her accustomed Hatred at his departure, She took away all the silver Plate which he had used ever since he was Married, and put Pewter in their stead; besides, she gave him Poison

before his departure, that so the Evil might be more secret, if he died when absent from the Court; but the Poison wrought sooner than those who gave it supposed it would; for he had scarce been gone a mile from *Sterling*, when such a grievous Pain took him all over his Body, that it was very apparent, his Disease was not usual, but fraudulently design'd; but he no sooner came to *Glasgow*, but that the mischief did manifestly discover it self, for there arose blue Pustules all over his Body, with so much Pain and Torment, that there was little hope of his Life; and when *James Abernethy*, an able, faithful, and experienced Physician, was consulted about his Distemper, he made present answer, that he had taken Poison: Hereupon he sent for the Queen's Domestick Physician, but the Queen would not suffer him to go, fearing lest his Skill might Cure him, and she was not also willing that many should know of his being Poisoned. When the Ceremonies of the Baptism were over, and the Company by degrees gone home, the Queen was private with *Bothwell*, and scarce any other company at *Drummond* and *Tullibardin*, a Nobleman's House, where she spent some days about the beginning of *January*, and so returned to *Sterling*, and pretended daily to go to *Glasgow*, but at the same time expected to hear every Minute of the Kings Death; and to prevent the worst, she resolved to have her Son in her own Power,

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Power, and that her design might occasion no suspicion, they began to find fault that the House wherein he was kept was inconvenient; that in such a moist and cold place he might be subject to Rheums; but the true cause of his removal was far other, wise: for 'twas very plain, that the place whither he was carried, was far more obnoxious upon the aforesaid account, by being situated in a low marshy Ground, having a Mountain betwixt it and the Sun rising; whereupon the Child, scarce seven months old, was brought in a very sharp Winter to *Edenburg*; but when she there heard, that the King was recovered, as having overcome the Poison by the vigour of his Youth, and strength of his Natural Constitution, she renewed her Plot to destroy him, acquainting also some of the Nobility therewith. In the mean time News was brought her that the King designed to fly into *France* or *Spain*, and that he had spoke about it to the Master of an English Vessel which was then in the Frith of *Clyde*: Hereupon, some thought that an opportunity was offered her to send for him, and if he refused to come, to kill him out of the way; yea, some offered to be her Agents in the thing, and all of them advised that the Fact should be privately committed, and that it should be hastened before he was perfectly recovered of his Illness. The Queen having already gotten her Son into her Possession, that she might

might also have her Husband in her Power, though not as yet agreed in the design how he should be made away, resolved to go to *Glasgow*, having, as she imagined, sufficiently cleared her self from his former suspicions, by many kind Letters she had lately sent him; but her Words and Deeds were not both of a piece, for she took almost none with her in her Retinue but the *Hamilton's*, and other Hereditary Enemies of the King. In the mean time she commits to *Bothwell's* Care to do what was Contributory to the Design at *Edenburg*, for that place seemed most convenient for them to act this Hellish Tragedy, and also to conceal the Fact when 'twas perpetrated. For there being a great Assembly of the Nobles, the suspicion might be put off from one to another, and so divided between many. And now when the Queen had tried all the ways she could to dissemble her Hatred, at last by many Chidings, Complaints and Lamentations, she could yet scarce make him believe, that she was reconciled to him; but comply he does, and so, though hardly yet recovered from his Sickness, was brought in a Litter to *Edenburg*, to the fatal place designed for his Murther, which *Bothwell*, in the Queen's absence, had undertaken to provide; and that 'twas an House that had not been inhabited for some years before, near the City Walls in a lonesome solitary place, beneath the Ruins of two Churches, where

no clamour or out-cry could be heard; thither he was thrust with a few Attendants only: for the most of them (being such as the Queen had put upon him, rather as Spies than Servants) were departed, as foreknowing the approaching danger; and those that remained could not get the Keys of the Door from the Harbingers that provided the Lodgings.

The Queen amidst all this Inquietude, was mighty solicitous to have all the Suspicion thereof averted from her self, and her Diffimulation had proceeded so far, that the King was now fully perswaded there was a firm Reconcilement between them; so that he sent Letters to his Father, who stayd behind Sick at *Glasgow*, giving him great Hopes and Assurance, that the Queen was now sincerely his, and commemorating her many good Offices towards him, he now promiseth himself there would be a change of all things for the better. And as he was writing these Letters, the Queen came in on a sudden, and Reading of them, she gave him many Kisses and kind Embraces, telling him withal, that sight mightily pleased her, in that now she discerned there was no Cloud of Suspicion hovering over his Mind. Things being thus well secured on that side, her next Care was to contrive, as much as possible, to cast this Guilt upon another; and therefore she sent for her Brother the Earl of *Murray*, who had lately got leave, and was going to *St. Andrews*, to visit his

Wife,

Wife, who lay there, (as he heard,) dangerously ill; for besides the danger of Child-bearing, she had Pustles, that rose all over her Body, with a violent Fever. The cause of her detaining him she pretended to be, that she might Honourably dismiss the Duke of *Savoy's* Ambassador, who came too late to the Princess's Baptism; but tho' this seemed a very mean pretence to take him off from so just and necessary a Duty, yet he obey'd; in the Interim, the Queen every Day made her Visits to the King, and reconciled him to *Bothwell*, whom she, by all means in the World, desired to be out of Gun-shot, of any the least Suspicion: She made him large promises of her Affections for the future, which over Officious-carriage, tho' suspected by all, yet no Man was so bold as to advise the King of his danger, in regard he was wont to tell the Queen all that he heard, to Insinuate himself the more into her favour; only *Robert* the Queen's Brother, moved either with the Horridness of the Fact, or with pity to the Young Gentleman, took the Boldness to acquaint him of his Wives Plot against him, but on this Condition, that he would keep it to himself, and provide for his own safety, the best he could. But the King did for all that reveal it to the Queen, according to his Custom, whereupon *Robert* was sent for, but he stoutly deny'd it, so that they gave one another the Lie, and were laying their Hands on their Swords; now the Queen was glad to

see, that her Designs were likely to have so good a Conclusion, and therefore she calls for her Brother *James*, as if he were to decide the Controversie, but the Truth was, that he also upon that Accusation, might be cut off: there was no body else present but *Bothwell*, who was so far from keeping of them from going together by the Ears, that he would rather have killed him, than had the worst of the Combat, as plainly appeared by his saying, there was no reason *James* should be sent for, in such haste, to keep those from Duelling, who, whatsoever they pretended, had no such inclination to it. When this stirr was quieted, the Queen and *Bothwell* were wholly intent, how to perpetrate the Murder, and how to do it too, with all imaginary Secrecy, and that the Queen might dissemble both Love to her Husband, and a forgiveness of all old Offences, she caused her Bed to be brought from the Palace, into a Chamber below that of the Kings, where she lay after she had late up late with him in Discourse, for some Nights.

In the mean time, she devizes all manner of ways to cast the Odium of the Fact, when committed, upon her Brother *James*, and the Earl of *Morton*; for she conceived, if those two, whose Esteem and Authority she most feared and hated, were taken out of the way, all other things would fall in of themselves; she was also invited thereunto by Letters from the Pope, and *Charles* Cardinal

Cardinal of *Lorrain* for the Summer before, having by her Uncle desired a Sum of Money of the Pope, for Levying an Army to disturb the State of Religion in *Britain*; and the Pope more cunningly, but the Cardinal more plainly, had advised her to destroy those who were the greatest hindrances to the Restitution of Popery, and especially those two Earls by Name, if they were not taken off. They promised a Mass of Money for the War, but the Queen thinking some inckling hereof had come to the Ears of the Nobility, did therefore, to clear her self from any suspicion, or the least inclination to such a thing, shew them the Letters; but these Villanous Designs so subtilly laid, as they thought, were somewhat disturb'd by frequent Messuages from the Earl of *Murray's* Wife, how that she had miscarry'd, and that there were but small hopes of her Life. This Message was brought to the Earl on the Lords-day, as he was going to Church, wherenpon he returned back to the Queen, and desired leave of her to be gone, but she very much urged him to stay one day longer, to hear certainer News, alledging, that if he made never so much hast, his coming would do her no good; but if her Distemper did abate, to morrow would be time enough; but the Earl was fully bent on his Journey, and went his way. Now the Queen had deferred the Murder till that night, and would seem then to be so jocund and dissolute, as to Celebrate the Marriage of

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Sebastian, one of her Musick, in the very Palace ; and when the Evening was past in Mirth and Jollity, then she went with a Numerous Attendance, to see her Husband, spent some Hours with him, and was merrier then formerly, often kissing him, and giving him a Ring, as a Token of her Love. But after the Queens departure, the King with the few Servants that were about him, recollecting the Proceedings of the past Day, amongst some comfortable Speeches given him by the Queen, he was much concerned at the remembrance of a few words she had uttered ; for she, whether not able to contain her joy arising from the hopes that the Murder would now be perpetrated ; or whether it fell from her by chance, cast a Word, *That David Rizzio was Slain the last Year about that time.* This unseasonable mention of his Death, tho' none of them liked it, yet because it was now late at Night, and that next Morning was designed for sports and Pastimes, they went speedily to Bed ; in the mean time Gun-powder was placed in the Room below, to blow up the House, and all other things were craftily and cautiously transacted ; yet in a small matter, they left a Tract, whereby to be discovered. For the Bed in which the Queen used sometimes to lye, was taken away, and a worse put in the room of it, as if, tho' they were prodigal enough of their Credit, yet they would spare a little Money ; but before the Queen had

had left the King, one *Paris*, a French-man, and a Partizan in the Conspiracy, entred into the King's Bed-chamber, and there stood still, yet so, that the Queen might see him, and that was the Sign agreed on betwixt them, that all things now were in a readiness. The Queen, as soon as she saw *Paris*, as if *Sebastin's* Marriage had come into her Mind; she began to blame her self, that she had been so negligent, as not to Dance that Night at the Wedding, as it was agreed on, and to put the Bride to Bed, as the manner is; whereupon she presently started up, and went home to her Palace, whither when she came, she had a pretty deal of Discourse with *Botbwell*, who being at length dismiss'd, went into his Chamber, changed his Cloaths, put on Soldiers Habit, and with a few in his Company, passed through the Guards into the Town; two other Parties of the Conspirators, came several ways to the appointed place, and a few of them entred into the King's Bed-Chamber, of which they had the Keys, (as I said before) and whilst he was fast asleep, they took him by the Throat, and Strangled him, and one also of his Servants who lay near him. When they were Slain, they carryed their Bodies through a little Gate, which they had made on purpose in the Walls of the City, into a Garden near at hand, and then they set Fire to the Gun-powder, which blew up the House from the very Foundation, and made

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such a Noise, that it shook some of the Adjacent Houses, yea, those that were fast asleep in the farthest part of the City, were awaked and frightned at the Noise, when the Horrid Fact was done. *Boithwell* was let out by the Ruins of the City Walls, and so returned to the Palace, through the Guard, by another way, then that he came; this was the common report of the King's Death, which held for some Days, and which you'll find a fuller Confirmation of in due place. The Queen had sat up that Night to wait for the Event, and hearing the Tumult, called together those of the Nobility who were at Court, and *Boithwell* amongst the rest, and by their advice, sent out to know what was the matter, as if he had been ignorant of all that was done; some went to inspect the King's Body, which had only a Linnen Shirt on the Upper part of it, the rest lay naked, and his other Cloaths and Shoes lay near him; the Common People also in great Multitudes came to see him, and many conjectures there were upon it, yet they all agreed, (sorely against *Boithwell's* Mind,) that he could never be thrown out of the House by the force of the Gun-powder, for there was no part, broken, bruised, black or blue about his Body, which, in a Rime by Gun-powder, must needs be; besides his Cloaths lying near him, were no ways singed with the Flames, or covered with any Ashes, so that it was impossible it could have

have been thrown thither by any Casualty, but must be placed there on purpose, by some Bodies Hands; so *Boswell* returned again, and as if he had been in great admiration, brought the News to the Queen, of the sad Disaster; whereupon she went to Bed, and lay secure, soundly sleeping a great part of the next Morning. Sir *James Melvil* says, he himself came that same Morning to the Door of the Queens Chamber, where he met the Earl of *Boswell*, who told him, her Majesty was sorrowful and quiet, (a likely matter,) which had occasioned him to come forth; and also added, that the strangest Accident had fallen out, that ever was heard on; for Thunder had come out of the Sky, and had burnt the King's House and himself was found dead, lying at a little distance from the House, under a Tree; then desired Sir *James* to go to see his Body, and said there was not any hurt nor a mark on all of it; but when Sir *James* had been up to see him, he had been taken up into a particular Room, and kept by one *Alexander Durham*, so as that he could not get a sight of him.

In the mean time, the Parricides, to add Villany to Villany, did spread Reports abroad, and which were carryed by Day-light, to the very borders of *England*, that the King was Murdered by the Design of the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton*; yet every body thought privately with themselves, that the Queen must needs be the Author

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of the Murder; neither was the Bishop of *St. Andrews* free from suspicion; for there were shrew'd Conjectures against him, as the high and cruel enmities between the Families; that he was never well reconciled to the Queen, before she hatch'd that Wick- edness in her Mind; and that of late, when he accompanied her to *Glasgow*, he was made acquainted with the utmost of her Projects. And Men's suspicion were en- creased of him, because, at that time, he had retired to his Brother's House, the Earl of *Arran*, which was nigh to the House where the King was Slain; whereas, before he always used to live at some eminent part of the City, where he might conveniently re- ceive Visits, and curry favour with the Peo- ple by Feasting them; and besides Lights were seen in his House, and a Watch all that same Night, from the upper part of the City, and when the Designed Powder Clap was given, then it was observed, the Lights were put out, and his Vassals, many of whom watched in their Arms, were for- bidden to go out of Doors. But the true Story of the Matter of Fact, which broke out after some Months, gave occasion to People to look upon those things, as cer- tain Indications, which before were but suspicions only. When the Murder was committed, the Conspirators (as before hinted, presently dispatch'd Messengers into *England*, who were to report, that the King was cruelly Murdered by his own Sub- jects,

jects, especially by the Contrivance of the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton*; and the News did so enflame the *English* to a Hatred of the whole *Scotch* Nation, that for some Days, no *Scotch* Man durst walk the Streets, without running the Risque of his Life; and tho' many Letters past to and fro that made some Discovery of the Secret Contrivance of the Design, yet the People would hardly be appeased. In the meantime, the King's Body was left for a time, as a Spectacle to be gaz'd on, and a great concourse of People continually flock'd to see it, the Queen having ordered that it should be laid upon a Form or Bier, turn'd up side down, and brought by Porters into the Palace, where she her self view'd the Body, which was the most beautiful and comliest of the Age. The Nobles that were present desired, that a Royal and Magnificent Funeral should be made for him. But she, good Woman, caused him to be carryed out by Bearers in the Night, to be buryed in no manner of State; and that which increased the Indignity the more, was, that his Grave was made near *David Rizzio's*, as if she had designed to Sacrifice the Life of her Husband, on purpose to appease the Ghost of that base Varlet.

There were two surprizing Prodigies hapning at that time, which are worthy of Relation, and were Construed, as being very Ominous to that poor Prince; one of them a little preceded the Murder, and thus it

was

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it was; One *John Londin*, a Gentleman of
Fife, having been Sick for a long time of a
 Fever, did the Day before the King was
 Murdered, about Noon, lift up himself a
 little out of his Bed, and as if he had been
 in great Astonishment, cry'd unto such as
 stood by him, with a loud Voice, *Go
 help the King, for the Parricides were just
 now going to Murder him.* And a while
 after he called out with a Mournful Tone,
*Now 'tis too late to help, he is already
 Slain;* and the Person himself died soon
 after; the other did accompany the Mur-
 der it self. There were three of the Fam-
 liar Friends of the Earl of *Arbol*, the
 King's Cousin, who were Men of Reputa-
 tion, for their Valour and Fortunes, that
 had their Lodgings not far from the King's,
 who when they were asleep about Midnight,
 there seem'd a Man to come to *Dugal Ste-
 wart*, who was next the Wall, and to pull
 his Hand over his Beard and Cheek, so to
 awake him, saying; *Arise, they are offering
 Violence to us,* upon which he presently
 awakes; and considering of the Apparition
 with himself, another of them Cries out
 presently in the same Bed, *Who kicks me?*
Dugall answered, perhaps 'tis a Rat, which
 us'd to walk about in the Night; whereup-
 on the Third, who was not awake, got up
 presently out of his Bed, and was a going
 to run away, asking, *Who was that had
 given him a Box on the Ear?* Which words
 were no sooner spoke by him, but that one
 seemed

learned to go out of the House by the Door,
 not without some Noise. While they were
 decanting together on what they had heard
 and seen, the Noise of the King's House,
 that was blown up, drove them all into a
 great Fright. The Earl of *Arbuthnot* highly re-
 sented the King's Murder, and so did *Mur-
 ray*, which put both of them in danger of
 their Lives; nay, *Bothwell* understanding
 that *Murray* was Sick at his own House of
 the Gout, did under a pretence of Visiting
 him, design to Murder him, as he had done
 before; but *Murray* had removed a little be-
 fore to his Brother *Robert's* House, and so es-
 caped and now the Queen and *Bothwell* are as
 inseparable as their Shadows, and take a full
 swing of their pleasures; but the Arrival of
 the French Ambassador, and his insisting
 how infamous the King's Murder was among
 Strangers, put some damps upon their En-
 joyments; besides, they were not a little
 solicitous, concerning the Rumours spread
 of *Bothwell*, being concern'd in the Fact, and
 how to avoid the Danger, and clear of all
 suspicion, was now become the main Head
 of their Consultation. There was a Design
 laid before, to have him try'd and acquit-
 ted; for presently upon the King's death,
Bothwell and some of his Complices came to
 the Earl of *Argyle*, who was Hereditary Ca-
 pital Judge in Criminal Causes, and first
 pretended, they were wholly ignorant of
 what was done, and wondered at it all as
 a New, unheard of, and incredible thing;
 then

then they proceeded to the Examination of it, and to that end Summoned some poor Women out of the Neighbourhood, but they stuck between Hope and Fear, being uncertain, whether they ought to speak, or hold their Peace; but tho' they were very cautious in their words, yet, uttering more than was expected, they were dismissed, having spoken nothing upon any certain Ground; and as for their Testimony, it was easie enough to dispute it; whereupon some of the King's Servants, whom the Fire had not destroy'd, were sent for, and being interrogated concerning the Ingress of the Assassines, answered, That the Keys were not in their Power; and it being urged on them again, in whose Power then? They reply'd the Queens, whereupon the further Examination was put off, as they pretended, but indeed was quite suppressed, for they were afraid, if they went any further, the Court Secrets would become all publickly known.

And yet to set a Gloss upon the Matter, a Proclamation was Published, and a Pecuniary Reward was offered to the Discoverers of the King's Murder, but who durst be so bold, as to Impeach *Bothwell*, seeing he was to be the impleaded, the Judge, the Examiner, and the Exacter of the Punishment too. Yet this fear which stopped the Mouths of divers single Persons, could not bridle the Multitude, for Libells were Published, Pictures made, and Night-hawking

and

and Cries were uttered, whereby the Parricides might easily understand, that their whole Design was discovered, who projected the Wicked Fact, and who was assistant to put the same in Execution; and the more the People were forbidden, the more did their Grief make them speak; and tho' the Conspirator seemed to despise these things, yet they were so inwardly prick'd and touch'd, that they could not dissemble their Sorrow. And therefore committing the Examination about the King's Death, in which they ought to have proceeded; they sell more severely and in earnest upon another Guest, and that was against the Authors of Libels, or, as they called it, the Calumniators of the Earl of *Boswell*; and this they so severely prosecuted, that they spared no Pains nor Cost there; and made it Capital, not only to Sell, but even to Read those Libells, when they were Sold; but they who endeavoured to bridle the Tongues of the People, by threatening Capital Punishments to them, were not satisfied with the King's death, but still retain'd their Hatred against him, though now in his Grave. For the Queen gave her Husbands Goods, Arms, Horses, Apparel, and other Household-stuff, either to his Fathers Enemies, or to the Murderers themselves, as if they had been forfeited into her *Exchequer*. And as these matters were openly acted, so many did as publickly inveigh against them, so that a Taylor, who was to fit some of the King's Cloaths

Cloaths for *Bothwell's* Body, was so adventurous as to say, now he saw the Old Country Custom verified, that the Executioners had the Cloaths of them that suffered by their Hands. But tho' these things wrought but a small disquietude to the Parricides Day by Day, yet nothing stuck so close to them as the Dayly Complaints of the Earl of *Lennox*, who, though he would not adventure to come to Court, by Reason of *Bothwell's* Power, accompanied with the highest Luxury, yet he so earnestly solicited the Queen by Letters, that she would commit *Bothwell* to Prison, who without doubt, was the Author of the King's Murder, till a Day might be appointed to bring him to Tryal; that she, tho' eluding his desire by many Stratagems, yet seeing at last, the Examination of so heinous a Fact, could not be avoided, designed to have it carried on in this manner.

The Meeting of the Assembly of the Estates was nigh at hand, and she was desirous before that time, to have the Matter decided, that so *Bothwell* being absolved by the Votes of the Judges, might be further cleared by the Suffrages of the whole Parliament. This halt was the Cause that nothing was carryed in an orderly manner, according to the Ancient Custom, in the Judicatory Process; for the Accusers, (as is customary,) ought to have been cited with their Kindred, as Wife, Father, Mother, Son, either to appear Personally,

nels by Proxy, within 40 Days, for that is
 the time limited, by the Law; but here
 the Father was only Summoned, without
 summoning any of his Friends, only his
 own Family, which at that time was in a
 low Estate, and reduced but to a few; where-
 as in the mean time, *Boswell* flew up and
 down the Town, with a great many Troops
 at his Heels; so that the Earl of *Lennox*
 thought it not adviseable for him to come
 into a City full of his Enemies, where he
 had neither Friends nor Vassals, to secure
 him; and supposing there was no danger of
 Life, yet there could be no freedom of De-
 bate; but *Boswell* appeared at the Day ap-
 pointed, and came into the Town-Hall, be-
 ing himself both plaintiff and Defendant too.
 The Judges of the Nobility were called
 over, most of them being *Boswell's* Friends,
 and none daring to appear on the other side
 to accept against any one of them; only
Robert Cunningham, one of *Lennox's* Fam-
 ily, put a small stop to the Proceedings, for
 he having liberty to speak openly, boldly
 declared, the Procees was not according to
 Law nor Custom: Where the Accused Per-
 son was so Powerful, that he could not be
 brought to Punishment, and the Accuser
 was absent for fear of his Life; therefore
 whatsoever should be determined there, as
 being against Law and Right, was null and
 void; yet, they persisted in their Design
 notwithstanding. And the Issue of the
 whole was, that they declared, they saw

no reason to find *Bothwell* Guilty; yet if any man hereafter should lawfully accuse him, they gave a caution that this Judgment should be no hindrance to him; and some thought the Verdict was wisely given in by them, for the Indictment was conceived in such Words, that the severest Judges could ne'er have found *Bothwell* guilty upon it, for it was laid against a Murder committed the 9th of February, whereas the King was slain the 10th.

Thus *Bothwell* was acquitted of the Fact, but not of the Infamy thereof, suspicions still increasing upon him, and his punishment seemed only to be deferred; but any pretence whatsoever, though a shameless one, seemed good enough to the Queen, who made haste to Marry him; but as a surplusage to his Absolution, there was a Chartel or a Challenge, posted on the eminentest part of the Court, declaring, That though *Bothwell* was lawfully acquitted of the King's Murder, yet to make his Innocency the more appear, he was ready to decide the matter in a Duel against any Gentleman, or Person of Honour, that should dare to lay it to his Charge: Next morning there was one who did as manfully post up an answer to this bold Challenge, provided the place of Combate were appointed, wherein without danger he might declare his Name: But I do not find the matter proceeded any further: At the same time the Queen was very urgent

to hasten the Marriage, and yet withall she desired by any means to procure the publick Consent, that she might seem to act nothing but by the Suffrage of the Nobles; And *Bothwell* too, to credit the Marriage with the colour of the publick Authority, devised this Stratagem. He invited all the Nobility of the highest Rank, that were then in Town, as there were divers of them, one Night to Supper; and when they were Jocund and Merry, he desired they would shew that respect to him for the future, which they had always done heretofore; but at present, his only request was, that whereas he was a Suiter to the Queen, they would subscribe to a Schedule which he had made about that matter, and that would be a means to procure him favour with the Queen, and respect with all the People: The Lords were all amaz'd at so sudden and unexpected a motion, and could not dissemble their Sorrow, neither yet durst they refuse or deny him; whereupon a few, that knew the Queen's Mind, began first, and the rest, not foreseeing that there were so great a number of Flatterers there present, suspected one another, and at last all subscribed; but the day after, when they had recollected what they had done, some of them as ingenuously confessed, they would never have granted their Consent, unless they thought the thing had been acceptable to the Queen; for besides that the matter carried no great face of

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honesty, and was prejudicial to the publick too, so there was danger, if any difference should arise (as it came to pass between her and her former Husband) between her and *Bothwell* also; and if he were rejected, it might be laid in their Disshes that they had betrayed the Queen to a dishonourable Marriage; and therefore before they had run too far, they resolved to try her Mind, and to procure a Writing under her hand to this purport, that she did approve of what they had done in reference to her Marriage; which Scroul was easily obtained, and by a joint Consent of them all, delivered to the Earl of *Argyle* to keep. Next day all the Bishops in the Town were called into Court, that they might also subscribe; this care being over, another succeeded, which was, how the Queen might get her Son into her Power; for *Bothwell* did not think it safe for him to have a young Child brought up, who in time might Revenge his Fathers Murder, neither was he willing that any other should come between his Children and the Crown; whereupon, the Queen, who could deny him nothing, undertook the task her self to bring the Child to *Edenburg*; but when she came to *Sterlin*, the Earl of *Mar* suspected what was a brewing, and therefore shewed her the Prince, but would not let him be in her Power: The Queen seeing her fraud detected, and not able to cope with him by force, pretended another cause for her Journey

Journey, and prepared to return; but on the Road, either by reason of her over-much Toil, or for Anger that her Designs, which the Authors thought craftily laid, were unsuccessful, she was taken with a sudden Illness, and was forced to retire to a poor House about four miles from *Sterlin*, where her pain something abating, she proceeded on her Journey, and came that Night to *Linlithgow*; from thence she wrote to *Bothwell*, by *Paris*, what she would have him to do about her surprize; for before she departed from *Edenburg*, she had Concerted with him, that at the Bridge of *Almon* he should surprize her in her return, and carry her whither he pleased as it 'twere against her Will; the Censure of the Commonalty upon this matter was, that she could not altogether conceal her Familiarity with *Bothwell*, nor yet could well want it, nor could she openly enjoy it as she desired it, without the loss of her Reputation; it was too tedious to expect his Divorce from his former Wife, and she was willing to consult her Honour, which she pretended to have a very great regard unto, yet she would provide for her Lust also, of which she was very impatient, and therefore the Device was thought to be very pretty; that *Bothwell* should redeem the Queen's Infamy with his own great Crime, the punishment whereof he did not yet fear at all; but there was a deeper reach in the projected design, as came af-

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terward to be understood; for whereas the People did every where point at and curse the King's Murderers, they to provide for their own security, by the persuasion, as 'tis thought, of *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross*, devised this attempt upon the Queen. 'Tis the manner in *Scotland*, when the King grants a Pardon for Offences, that he that Sues it out expresses his great Offence by name, and the rest of his Crimes are added in general Words; accordingly the King's Murderers determined to ask Pardon for this surprize of the Queen, by Name, and then to have added in their Pardons by way of overplus, *and all other wicked Facts*; in which clause they persuaded themselves, that the King's Murder would be included, because it was not safe for them to name themselves Authors of it in the Pardon, neither would it be creditable for the Queen so to grant it; neither could it be well added in the grant of Pardon, as an Appendix to a lesser Crime; another Offence, less invidious, but liable to the same punishment was to be devised, under the shadow whereof the King's Murder might be disguised and pardoned; and no other did occur to their view but this pretended force put upon the Queen, whereby her pleasure might be satisfied, and *Boswell's* security provided for too; and therefore, he, with 600 Horse, attended her coming at *Almon Bridge*, and carried her, by her own Consent, to *Dunbar*; where

where they had free Converse one with another, and a Divorce was made betwixt *Bothwell* and his former Wife, and that in two Courts: First, She was cited before Judges publickly appointed to decide such Controversies; and after that, before the Officials, or Bishops Courts, though they were forbid by a publick Statute, to exercise any part of Magistracy, or to intermeddle with any publick Affair; so that *Madam Gordon*, *Bothwell's* Wife, was compelled to Commence a Suit of Divorce, in a double Court before the Queen's Judges; and what must the Accusation be, but that her Husband was Guilty of Adultery, which was the only just cause of a Divorce amongst them, and this before the Papal Judges, who though forbidden by the Law, yet were impowered by the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, to determine the Controversie: Her Allegations against him were, That before their Marriage, he had had too much unlawful or incestuous Familiarity with her Kinswoman: The Witnesses and Judges made no delay in the Case, for the Suit was commenced, prosecuted, adjudg'd and ended all in ten days.

On these emergent Occasions a great many of the honest Nobles met at *Sterlin*, and sent to the Queen, desiring to know of her, Whether she was kept willingly, or against her Will? If the latter, they would Levy an Army for her Deliverance. It was observed she received the Message not with-

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out Smiling, and answered them, that it was true, she was brought thither against her Will, but was so kindly treated ever since, that she had little cause to complain of the former Injury: Thus was the Messenger eluded; but yet, though they made all the haste they could to take off the reflection of the force, by a lawful Marriage, yet there were two rubs still in the way; one was, that if she Married while a Prisoner, the Marriage might not be accounted good, and so easily dissolved; and the other difficulty was how to have the usual Ceremonies performed, that the Bans should be published three Lord's Days in the publick Congregation, of a Marriage intended between *James Hepburn* and *Mary Stuart*, so that if any one knew a lawful Impediment, why they should not be joined together in Matrimony, they should then declare the same, that so it might be decided in the Church: to bring this matter therefore about, *Bothwell* gathers his Friends and Dependants together, resolving to bring back the Queen to *Edenburg*, that so under a vain shew of their Liberty, he might determine of their Marriage at his pleasure: To this end his Companions were all armed, but as they were on their Journey, a fear seiz'd on some of them, lest at one time or other it might turn to their prejudice to detain the Queen as yet a Prisoner; and if there were no other ground for it, yet this was enough, that they accompanied

accompanied her in an armed manner, when
 all things were in Peace and Tranquillity;
 upon which scruple they threw away their
 Arms, and so brought her in a seeming
 more peaceable posture to *Edenburg* Castle,
 which was then in *Bothwell's* Power. Next
 day they accompanied her into the City
 and Courts of Justice, where she affirmed
 before the Judges, that she was wholly
 free and under no restraint at all; but as
 to the publishing of the Marriage in the
 Church, the Reader, whose Office it was,
 wholly refused it, which was a new Morti-
 fication; but upon his refusal, the Elder
 Deacons and Ecclesiasticks assembled, as not
 daring to resist, and commanded the Reader
 to publish the Banes according to custom;
 but the man was so bold, as plainly to tell
 them, that he himself knew a lawful Impe-
 diment, and was ready to declare the same
 to the Queen or to *Bothwell* when ever they
 pleased to Command him; whereupon he
 was sent for to the Castle, and the Queen
 remitted him to *Bothwell*, who, with all
 he could do, either by fear or favour, could
 not divert him from his Resolution, and
 yet he durst not commit the matter to a
 Dispute; yet on he went to hasten the
 Marriage, and there was none to be found
 besides the Bishop of *Orkney* to Celebrate
 the same, it was he alone that preferred
 Court favour before Truth; the rest being
 utterly against it, and producing Reasons,
 why it could not be a lawful Marriage

with a Person that had two Wives yet living, and had lately confest his own Adultery, and had been also Divorced from a third; yet though all good Men did loath this way of procedure, and that the Commonalty curst it, and even the Earls own Kindred, by Letters dissuaded him from it, while it was in prosecution, and abhorred it when done; there were some publick Ceremonies dissemblingly performed, and Married they were for all that: Those of the Nobility there present (which were but few, and they *Bothwell's* Friends and Creatures too, the rest being gone to their homes) were invited to Supper, and so was *Crooke* the French Ambassador, who, though he were of the *Guisian* Faction, and did besides dwell near the place, yet absolutely refused to come, as thinking it suited not with the Dignity of that Person he represented, to countenance that Marriage by his presence, which he heard the common People did Curse and Abominate; and indeed, the King of *France*, and Queen of *England*, did by their Ambassadors declare against the Turpitude of the thing; and though that was troublesome to the Queen, yet the silent sadness of the People did so much the more increase her fierce Disposition, as things seen pierce deeper than things only heard. As they both went through the City, none Saluted them with wonted Acclamations, only one said, and that only but once, *God save the Queen,* where-

whereupon, another Woman near her spoke aloud once or twice, so as the standers by might her, *Let every one have what his Desert is*, which intraged her still the more against the Citizens, so that now seeing the danger she was in by the alienated Minds of her Subjects, she casts about how she might establish her Power, and first of all, she determined to send an Ambassador into France, to reconcile those Princes, and the Guisèr to her, whom she knew were offended with her precipitate Marriage, and the Bishop of Dunblain was pitch'd upon for that purpose, whose Instructions were Politickly framed, and long, and no great question made but they would do the Business: The Bishop, after his arrival in France, obtains a day of Audience, (not knowing that by this time Bothwell was forced to fly, and the Queen taken Prisoner, as you'll hear by and by) whereof the very same day the French King and his Mother had received Letters, one from Crocke the French Ambassador in Scotland, and another from Ninian Cockerburn, a Scot, who had served as a Captain of Horse some years in France; The Scotch Ambassador being admitted into the King's Presence, made a long and accurate Speech, partly to excuse the Queens Marriage, without the advice of her Friends, and partly to commend Bothwell to the skies, beyond all Right and Reason; Hereupon the Queen interrupted the vain Man by shewing him the Letters she had received from

from *Scotland*, how that the Queen was made a Prisoner, and *Bothwell* fled, at which sudden ill News, the Man was astonished, and held his Peace, whilst those that were present partly jeered him, and partly smiled at this unlook'd for accident, and there were none of them all but thought she suffered deservedly.

But to return to our Domestick Affairs, the way they projected for their security was, after they had fixed those by Gifts at present, and Promises for the future, who were either Perpetrators or Partizans in the King's Murder, to make a Combination of the greater Nobility; and if that were once done, they might go on and undervalue the rest, or cut them off, if they remained obstinate; whereupon they assembled the Nobility, and propounded unto them, the Heads of those Capitulations they were to Swear to; the Sum of the whole was, that they should maintain the Queen and *Bothwell* in all their Actings, and on the other side, they were to Favour and Countenance the concerns of those of the Confederates then present; a great many were perswaded to it before, and so Subscribed; the rest perceiving it was bad to Conspire, and as dangerous to refuse, Subscribed also. But the Earl of *Murray*, that his Authority (which was great for his Vertue,) might give some Countenance to the thing, was sent for upon this occasion; but he after all the Tamperings with him that could be, absolutely

solutely refused to Subscribe the said Association, and thereupon got leave with much ado, to Travel ; so went through *England* into *France*, where we'll leave him for a time. The Riddance of whom, as being a free Hearted and popular Man, out of the way, did not a little please the Queen, who now also endeavours to remove the other Obstacles to her Harmony, and those were such as would not willingly Subscribe to her Wickedness, or were not like easily to Acquiesce with her Designs ; but she had a perpetual Hatred towards those, who perceiving her to be no better affected towards her Son, then towards her former Husband, had entred into an Association at *Sterling*, for no Wicked Design, but to defend the Young Prince, which his Mother desired to have under the Power of his Father-in-law, who they were sure would not fail to make away with him ; the chief of that Combination were the Earls of *Argyle*, *Morton*, *Mar*, *Athol*, and *Glencarn*, besides others, and some of an inferior Degree, as *Linsey*, *Boyd*, with their Friends and Partners ; but *Argyl* and *Boyd* were won over quickly to the Queens party. But all this would not do, for the Families of the *Humes*, *Carrs* and *Scots*, living upon the *English* borders, and by their Scituation, as well as being otherwise Powerful, became suspected by the Queen, to have a Hand against her in this matter ; and their Power she endeavoured to lessen with all her might, and there seem-

ed

ed a fit occasion to be offered for that purpose; for *Bothwell* was preparing an expedition into *Liddisdale*, to make amends for the Dishonour he had received there the Autumn before, and also to gain some reputation by his Arms, to take off the Envy of the Kings Death; all the chief of the Families in *Teviotdale*, were commanded by the Queen, to come to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, that there for some short time, they might be secure, as in a free Custody, upon a pretence, that they might not be leading to an expedition, which did not seem likely to be successfully accomplished against their Wiles, and they also, if at liberty, might disturb the Design, out of Envy, and in their absence, she might inure the Clans, to the Government of others, and so by Degrees, wear off the Love of their Old Patrons and Masters; but they well imagining, there was some deeper Project concealed under that Command, went home by Night, all except *Andrew Carr*, who was commonly reputed not to be ignorant of the King's Murder, and another *Carr* at *Seaford*, an harmless innocent Person; this exasperated the rest, and *Hume* being often summoned by *Bothwell* to come to Court, refused so to do, as knowing what his thoughts were towards him; notwithstanding the Design for the Expedition went forward, and the Queen staid at *Borthwick* Castle, about eight Miles from *Edenburgh*; in the mean time, the Prince's Assassins, being

being not ignorant of *Bothwell's* Design, towards him, thought it now necessary to proceed to Action, not only for their own security, but also that by demanding Justice upon the Author of the King's Murder, they might acquit the Scottish Name, from the Infamy, under which it lay among Foreign Nations; and therefore supposing the Common People would follow their motions, they privily levied about Two thousand Horse, so that the Queen knew nothing of what was acted, till they came to *Borthwick* Castle, with part of the Army, and Besieged her and *Bothwell* therein; but the other part of the Conspirators not coming at the time appointed, and she having not force enough to stop all passage, and was not so active neither as he might have been, because the rest had neglected their Parts. First, *Bothwell* made his escape, and after him the Queen, and went directly to *Dunbar*; hereupon the Associators proceeded to lay Siege to *Edenburgh* Castle, with whom the Citizens joyned, but the Governor *James Balfour*, tho' he seem'd to have a disposition to come over to their Party, and by Surrendring the Castle to make atonement for his former miscarriages, yet he did not so readily do it, but that some elasted first, which gave the Queen and her Party opportunity to grow strong, so that they who were but a little before in despair, grew now bold, and thought to cope with their Adversaries; and to that purpose marched

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marched to *Leish* with a slow pace, and taking time to distribute Arms to the Country People that came in to her by the way; at length, a little before night, they came to *Seaton*, and because they could not be quartered there, they divided their numbers into two Neighbouring Villages, both called *Preston*; from whence a fearful alarm was brought to *Edenburg* before midnight, and presently the word was given, *To your Arms*; upon this they rose out of their Beds, and made all the haste they could into the adjoining Fields, and there having gathered a good Body together by Sun-rising, they set themselves in Battle Array; thence they marched to *Musselborough*, to pass the River *Eske*, before the Bridge and Ford were possessed by the Enemy, but meeting no body, and perceiving no noise at all, they placed Guards and Sentinels there, and went to refresh themselves with Food: In the mean time, the Scouts seeing a few Horsemen, draw them into the Village, but durst not follow them further for fear of an Ambuscade, so that they brought back no certain news of the Army, only that the Enemy was a marching, whereupon the Vindicators of Liberty marching out of *Musselburg*, saw the Enemy standing in Battle Array upon the Brow of a Hill over against them, and that they kept their Ground; the Hill being so steep, that they could not come at them without prejudice; they drew a little off

to the Right, both to have the Sun on their Backs, and also to gain an easier ascent, that they might Fight upon more advantageous Terms, and this design of theirs deceived the Queen, who thought they had fled, and were marching to *Dalkeith*, a Neighbouring Town of the Earl of *Morton's*, and that the terrour of her Royal Name was so great, that they durst not withstand; but she quickly found, That Authority, as 'tis acquired by good Arts, so may be quickly lost by bad, and that Majesty, destitute of Virtue, is soon brought to nothing. When they had refresht themselves, and quenched their Thirst, which much annoy'd them before, as soon as ever they got a fit place, they divided their Army into two Bodies: The Earl of *Morton* commanded the first, with *Alexander Hume* and his Vassals; The second was conducted by the Earls of *Glencarne*, *Marr*, and *Arbol*; and when they were thus ready to give the onset, the French Ambassador came to them, and by his Interpreter, told them, How he had always studied the Good and Tranquillity of *Scotland*, and that he was still of the same Mind, and therefore earnestly desired, if possible, the matter might be decided to the satisfaction of both Parties, without Arms or Bloodshed, wherein he offered his Service, alledging, that the Queen also was not averse from Peace, and to induce them the more to believe it, he told them, she would

would grant a present Pardon and Oblivion of what was done, and faithfully promised, that they should all be Indemnified, for taking up Arms against the Supreme Magistrate; to which the Earl of *Morton* answered, That they had not taken up Arms against the Queen, but against the late King's Murderers, who, if she would deliver up to punishment, or sever her self from him, then she should understand that they and their Fellow Subjects desired nothing more than to persist in their Duty to her, otherwise no agreement could be made; and to this, *Glencarne* added, That they came not thither to receive Pardon for taking up Arms, but to give; and so the Ambassador seeing no good was to be done, craved leave to depart, and returned to *Edenburg*, *re infecta*: In the mean time the Queen's Army kept it self within the antient Camp-Bounds of the English, and it was a place naturally higher than the rest, and besides fortified with a Work and a Ditch, from whence *Bothwell* shewed himself mounted on a brave Steed, and proclaimed by an Herald, that he was ready to engage in a single Combat with any of the adverse Party: Hereupon *James Murray*, a young Nobleman, offered himself from the other Army, being the same Person that had done so before by a Cartel, but suppressed his Name, (as has been already said) but *Bothwell* refused him, alledging, he was not

a fit Match for him, neither in Dignity nor Estate; then came forth his Eldest Brother *William*, affirming, that if Money matters were subdued, he was as powerful as *Bothwell*, but his Superiour both in Antiquity of Family, and Integrity of Repure, but *Bothwell* rejected him also, as being lately but made a Knight, and so forth; At last, *Patrick Lindsey*, a Person of the first Rank, desired as the only reward of all his Labours, which he had undergone, to maintain the Honour of his Country, that he might be permitted to Fight with *Bothwell*; but *Bothwell*, who in the main, had no Stomach to Fight, excepted against him too, and not knowing how creditably to come off, the Queen interposed her Authority, and forbidding the Fight, ended the Controversie; then marching through the Army on Horseback, she tryed how they all stood affected; but to her great disappointment and sorrow, she found no great disposition in the Men to fight: They said there were a great many brave Soldiers in the adverse Army, and that it was fitter for *Bothwell*, whose chief Quarrel it was, to try it out in a single Duel, than that her Majesty's Person, and so many Men's Lives should be hazarded upon the account, but that if she were fully resolved to Fight, it was best to defer it till too morrow, for it was said, the *Hamiltons* were coming with a Body of 500 Horse, and were not far

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off, with the conjunction of whose Forces, they might then the more safely advise about the main concern ; for at that time the Earl of *Huntley*, and *John Hamilton* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, had gathered their Clans to *Hamilton*, and the day after were coming to the Queen ; whereupon she gnashed her Teeth, and fell to Weeping, uttering many reproachful Words against her Nobles, and by a Messenger, desired of the contrary Army, that they would send *William Kircadie* of *Grange* to her, that she would Discourse with him about Conditions of Peace ; in the interim, the Army should not advance, neither did the adverse Army proceed, but stood near and in a low place, so as that the Enemies Ordinance might not annoy them : Whilst the Queen was conferring with *Kircadie*, *Botbwell* was bid to shift for himself, (for that was it she aim'd at by pretending a Conference) who made such fearful haste to *Dunbar*, that he commanded two Horsemen that accompanied him, to return back again, such a load of Guilt lay upon his Mind, that he could hardly trust his own Friends ; From whence he went to the *Orcades*, and for a time exercised Piracy thereabouts, but being at last pursued by some *Scotch* Ships fitted out for that purpose, he with much ado made his escape, and sailed for *Denmark*, where giving no good account of himself, whence
he

he came, or whither he was bound, and afterward being known of some Merchants, he was clapt up a close Prisoner, where after ten years nasty Confinement, and other Miseries, he at last grew Mad, and came to a Death suitable to his base and wicked Life.

The Queen, when she thought he was out of danger, (though she shall ne'er see his Face more) articted with *Kircade*, That the rest of the Army should march quietly home, and so she came with him to the Nobles, Clothed only with a Tunicle, and that a mean and threadbare one too, reaching but a little below her Knees, a sad spectacle; Of the Van of the Army she was received, not without Demonstration of their former Reverence; but when she desired that they would dismiss her, to meet the *Hamiltons*, who were said to be coming on, promising to return again, and commanding *Morton* to undertake for her, for she hoped by fair promises to do what she would, and finding she could not obtain her Request, she burst forth into bitter Language, and upbraided also the Commanders with what she had done for them, which they heard also with silence; but when she came to the second Body, they all unanimously cried out, *Burn the Whore, burn the Parricide*, and had withall a sad spectacle presented before her Eyes, for the late King her Husband was painted in one of the Banners, Dead, and his

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little Son by him, craving Vengeance of God for the Murder; and this Banner was carried before her whithersoever she went: She swooned at the first sight of it, and could scarce be kept upon her Horse, but recovering her self, she remitted nothing of her former fierceness, uttering Threats and Reproaches, shedding Tears, and manifesting other concomitant Signs of Womens Grief. In her march she made all the delay she could, expecting, if any Aid did come from elsewhere, but none appear'd: At last, she came to *Edenburg* a little before Night, her Face being covered with Dust and Tears, as if dirt had been cast upon it, all the People running to see the Spectacle; She past through a great part of the City in great silence, the multitude leaving her so narrow a passage, that scarce one could go a Breast; when she was going up to her Lodging, one Woman of the Company prayed for her, but she turning to the People, told them, besides other Menaces, that she would Burn the City, and quench the Fire with the Blood of the perfidious Citizens; having got into her Apartment, she shewed her self Weeping out of the Window, and there was a great concourse of People without, some of whom did Commiserate the sudden change of her Fortune; but it was not long e'er the former Banner was held out to her, whereupon she shut the Window and

and flung in: After she had been there two days, she was sent Prisoner by the Nobles Order to a Castle situated in *Lough-Levin*.

But now the whole Conspiracy against the late King comes out; for while these matters were thus agitated, *Bothwell* had sent one of his faithfullest Servants into *Edinburgh* Castle, to bring him a silver Cabinet, which had been sometimes *Francis's* King of *France*, as appear'd by the Cyphers on the out side of it, wherein were Letters Writ, almost all, with the Queen's own Hand, in which the King's Murder, and the things that followed, were clearly discovered, and it was written in almost all of them, that as soon as he had read them, he should burn them; but *Bothwell* knowing the Queen's Inconstancy, as having had many evident Examples of it in a few years, had preserved the Letters, that so if any difference should happen to arise between them, he might use them as a testimony for himself, and thereby declare, that he was not the Author, but only a Party in the King's Murder; *Balfour*, the Governor, did deliver the Cabinet to *Bothwell's* Servant, but withall informed the Chief of the Adverse Party, what he had sent, whither and by whom; whereupon they took him, and found in the Letters great and mighty matters contained, which though before shrewdly suspected, yet could never so clearly be made

forth : but nothing could induce the Queen to separate her Interest from him, and when she was urged to it with Reasons to her advantage ; she fiercely answered, *That she would rather live with him in the utmost Adversity, than without him in the Royallest Condition.* The *Hamilton's*, who were very powerful, made some stir yet on her behalf in opposition to the Adverse Party, who were now going to advance her Son, though an Infant, into her Throne, which she was forced to submit to, and to name him Governor, whereof the Earl of *Murray*, though absent then beyond Sea, was one, who returning soon after, was chosen sole Regent of the Kingdom, and confirmed in the same by the Authority of the Parliament that succeeded ; but about the Queen they differed in their Opinions ; for it appearing by many testimonies and proofs, especially by her own Letters to *Bothwell*, that the whole Plot of the Bloody Fact was laid by her, some being moved with the Heinousness of the thing, and others being afterwards made acquainted therewith by her ; lest they themselves should be punished as accessary to so odious a Crime, to remove her testimony out of the way, voted, That she should suffer the utmost extremity of the Law ; but the major part only sentenced her to be kept a Prisoner ; but though she escaped now, the time came wherein she lost her Head for but attempt-

ing a Fact of the like Nature with this she was now charged with. In the mean time, the *Hamiltons*, with whom the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley* joyned themselves, with some others, were solicitous about the Queen's Restoration and Liberty; and the Queen, not to be wanting on her part, to promote their Endeavours, having won some of the Regents Relations, and bribed the Master of a Vessel, and taking occasion to send her other Companions about frivolous Errands, was secretly by him conveyed out of the *Lough* where she was kept: Her escape being told those who were then at Dinner in the Castle, they made a great stir but to little purpose, for all the Boats were haled ashore, and their loop holes to put out their Oars, were all stopped up, that so no speedy pursuit might be made: She was no sooner got out of the *Lough*, but that there were Horsemen ready on the other side to receive her, who carried her to the several Houses of the Partisans in the Design, and the day after to *Hamilton*, a Town 8 miles distant from *Glasgow*, and and at the noise thereof many resorted to her, and in a short time she gathered an Army of about 6500 men: In the mean time the Regent was not idle, but got together what force he could at *Glasgow*, yet not enough to equal their number; however, understanding that the Enemy designed to march by *Glasgow*, and to leave the Queen in *Dunbarton Castle*, and

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so either to fight or lengthen out the War as they pleased ; or if they found him to be so bold as to stop their passage, which they believed he durst not do, they resolved then to Fight, and were confident they should beat him ; and the Regent, (I say) understanding this, resolved to be before hand with them, and to urge them to Fight as soon as ever he could, and to that end drew out his Men into the open Field before the Town, the way that he thought the Enemy would march, and there for some hours waited for them in Battle Array ; but when he saw their Troops pass by on the other side of the River, he presently understood their design, and commanded his Foot to pass over the Bridge, and his Horse to Ford over the River, which they might do, it being low Water, and so to march to *Langside*, which was a Village by the River *Carib*, where the Enemy were to pass, situated at the foot of a Hill to the South-West ; the passage on the East and North was steep, but on the other side there was a gentle descent into a plain, thither the Regent and his Army hastened with such speed that they had near possesst the Hill before the Enemy, who aimed at the same place, understood their design, so they marched thither by a nearer cut ; but there were two things that did very much contribute to the advantage of the Regent and his Party, as they were no

less a disadvantage to the Queen and her Followers; for the Earl of *Argyle*, who on the Queen's part commanded in chief, fell suddenly down from his Horse, sick, and by his fall much retarded the march of his Party; the other was, that their Forces being placed here and there in little Vallies, could never see all their Enemies at once, whose paucity (as indeed they were not many) made the other despise them, and the disadvantage of the place to. At last, when the Queen's Forces drew nigh, and saw the Ground they aimed at taken up by the Enemy, they advanced to another little Hill over against them, and there divided their Party into two Bodies; so did the other Party into two Wings, placing their Musketeers in the Village and Gardens below, near the Highway. Both Armies being thus marshalled in Battle Array, the Queen's Cannoniers and Foot were driven from their Posts by the Regents Forces; on the other hand the Regents Horse, being fewer in number, were beat back by the Enemy; and when they had performed that Service, they endeavoured also to break the Battalions of Foot, in order whereunto they charged directly up the Hill, but were beat back by the Archers placed there, and by some of those who after their rout, had rallied again, and joyned with the rest of their Body: In the mean time the Left Wing of the Enemy marched
by

by the Highway, where there was a rising Ground, lower down into the Valley, where tho' they were gall'd by the Regents Musketeers, yet passing by those straits, they opened and rang'd their Body. There it was the two Battalions held out a thick stand of Pikes, as a Breastwork before them, and fought desperately for half an hour, without giving ground on either side, insomuch that they whose long Pikes were broke, threw Daggers, Stands, pieces of Pikes, or Launces, yea, whatever they could come at, into their Enemies Faces; but some of the hindermost Ranks of the Regents Forces beginning to fly away, (whither for fear or treachery is uncertain) no doubt their flight had much disordered those who stood to it, unless the Ranks had been so thick, that the foremost did not well know what the hindmost did; then they which were in the second Battalion, taking notice of the danger, and perceiving no Enemy coming to Charge them, sent some whole Troops to wheel to the Right, and to joyn with the first, whereupon the adverse Party could not bear their Charge, but were wholly routed and put to flight; but the Regent, upon the pursuit, forbid the Execution. The Queen stood about a mile from the place to behold the Battle, and after the discomfiture, fled with some Horsemen of her Party, who had escaped out of the Battle, towards England, (from whence

whence she shall never return to see her Native Country more) being arrived at a place called *Workinton* in the County of *Cumberland*, she dispatched away a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, full of Complaints of hard usage in *Scotland*, and craving her Assistance and Protection, and leave to come to her; but the Queen denied her access, and ordered her to be conveyed to *Carlisle*, from whence she wrote again to the Queen, which brought her case under the Deliberation of the English Council, who at last resolved to detain her in *England*; till such time as she should give satisfaction for Usurping the English Arms, and answered for the Death of the Lord *Darnley* her Husband, for *Darnley's* Mother, the Countess of *Lennox*, had of late grievously complained to Queen *Elizabeth* about it, and earnestly besought her to call her to a Tryal for the Murder of her Son, as Mr. *Cambden* in his History of Queen *Elizabeth* has it.

But because her Detention in *England* might appear to be just in all Foreign Courts, Secretary *Cecil*, and others of the Council, prevailed with *Murray* the Scots Regent to come into *England*, to accuse her before such Commissioners as Queen *Elizabeth* should appoint, and the place of meeting was to be *York*; and to that end the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Suffex*, with several other Councillors, went to *York* to hear the Regents accusation:

tion: It was observed, the Duke delayd to receive the Accusation, but at last speaks to Secretary *Lidington*, that before that time he had ever esteemed him a Wise Man until that time he came before Strangers to accuse the Queen his Mistress, as if *England* were Judge over the Princes of *Scotland*, but continued the Duke, how could you find in our Heart to dishonour the King's Mother, or how could you answer afterward for what you were doing, seeing it tended to hazard the King her Sons Right to *England*, intending to bring his Mothers Honesty in question; it had been rather the Duty of you her Subjects, to cover her Imperfections, if she had any, remitting to God and Time to punish and put order thereto, who is the only Judge over Princes: *Lidington* shewing his Innocence and Desire to have the accusation suppress, the Duke asked if the Regent could keep secret, and being thereof assured by *Lidington*, he took occasion next day to enter into a Conference with the Regent, and after some preliminary Discourse, spoke to him to this effect: That he would be very faithful to the Queen his Mistress, as long as she lived, but that she was too careless what might come after her, about the Peace and Welfare of her Country, tho' it was the Interest of the Kingdom of *England* to take greater notice thereof, by determining the Succession, to prevent Troubles that other-

otherwise might ensue, that tho' they had
 dyvers times essay'd to do something there-
 in at every Parliament, yet their Queen
 had evidenced great discontent thereat,
 shewing thereby that she cared not what
 Blood was shed after her for the Right
 and Title of the English Crown, which
 consisted only in the Person of the Queen
 and King of Scotland her Son, which had
 been put out of doubt ere now if matters
 had not fallen out so unhappily at home,
 and yet he and other Noblemen of Eng-
 land, as Fathers of their Country, were
 minded to be careful thereof, watching
 their opportunity; but that they wondred
 what could move him to come there and
 accuse their Queen; for albeit she had
 done or suffered harm to be done to the
 King her Husband, yet there was respect
 to be had to the Prince her Son, upon
 whom he and many in England had fixed
 their Eyes, as Mr. Melvill, who had been
 late Ambassador there could testifie; he
 therefore wished that the Queen should
 not be accused nor dishonoured, for that
 to her Sons sake, and for respect to the
 right both had to succeed to the Crown of
 of England; and further the Duke said,
 I am sent to bear your Accusation, but
 neither will I, nor the Queen my Mistress
 give out any Sentence upon the Accusation,
 and that you may understand the verity
 of this point more clearly, you sh all do
 well the next time that I require you be-
 fore

fore the Council, to give in your Accu-
sation in Writing, to demand again my Mi-
stress's Seal and Hand Writing, (before
you shew your Folly) that in case you ac-
cuse, she shall immediately Convict, and
give out her Sentence according to the
proof of the matter, otherwise that you
will not open the Pack; which if her Ma-
jesty shall refuse to grant unto you, which
doubtless she will do, then assure your self
that my Information is true, and take oc-
casion hereupon to stay from further Accu-
sation.

This Discourse caught the Regent, and
he promised to comply therewith in every
part, and so at the next meeting with the
Council, demanded the foresaid security
from the Queen, before he would give in
his Accusation; hereupon they sent Post
to Court to know what to do, and the
Queen's answer was, That being a true
Princess, her Word and Promise would be
abundantly sufficient, *Cecill* and *Wood* (the
Regents Secretary) were amazed at this
manner of procedure, and therefore it was
advised to desire the Lords on both sides
to come from *Tork* to Court, where the
Queen was able to give more ready an-
swers and resolves: In the mean time,
the Duke, Regent, and *Lidingtown*, put
their Heads together, and agreed, That
the Regent should by no means consent to
accuse the Queen, and that the Duke
should obtain to him the Queen's Favour;
with

with a Confirmation of the Regency, and so would go on as sworn Brethren, the one to Rule *Scotland*, and the other *England*, &c. When the Regent was arrived at *Hampton-Court*, where the Queen then resided, he was daily prest to give in his Accusation, especially by those about him, who thought it strange, that he should be so slow, until at length they were advertised by one of the Lords of the Queen's Faction, of all that had past between the Regent, and Duke of *Norfolk*, for the Duke had secretly given the Queen of *Scots* notice of what he had done, she to one of her Confidants, who advertised the Earl of *Morton* of the whole; *Morton* took it very ill that the Regent should engage in any such thing without his knowledge, but before either he or his Friends would take upon them to know any thing of the matter, they consult together and resolve to get Mr. *John Wood* to acquaint *Cecil* with the whole, desiring him to press forwards the Accusation, wherein of himself he was abundantly eager; They left nothing undone for their part to effectuate the same, putting the Regent in hopes one while, that the Queen would give her Hand and Seal, that she would Convict the Queen of *Scots* if he accused her; others of the firmest of them, persuaded him that she would ne'er give it under Hand and Seal, designing thereby to distract him, to see what he would do in case he obtain'd

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tain'd his Desire : Mr. Wood said it was fit to carry in all the Writs to the Council, and he would keep the Accusation in his Bosom, and would not deliver it till the thing demanded of the Queen was first granted.

The rest of the Regents, Lords and Councillors, had concluded among themselves, that as soon as the Duke of Norfolk, as chief of the Council, should require the Accusation, they would all with one Voice persuade the Regent to give it in ; *Liddington* and Sir *James Melvill* prest the Regent to remember his Engagements to the Duke, who replied, he would do well enough, and that it would not come to that length ; and being accordingly brought before the Council, the Duke demanded the Accusation, the Regent required assurance from the Queen for the Prosecution, in case he gave it in ; to this it was answered as before, that the Queen was a true Princess, and that her Word was sufficient, and all the Council cryed, Would he distrust the Queen, who had given such proof of her Friendship to *Scotland* ? The Regents Council chimed in with them, and said the same thing ; whereupon *Cecill* asked, if they had the Accusation there ; yes, says Mr. Wood, and with that pluckt it out of his Bosom, but I will not deliver it says he till her Majesty's Hand and Seal be delivered to the Regent for what he demands ; he had no sooner said the Words, but the
Bishop

Bishop of *Orkney* snatch'd the Paper out of his hand, saying, Let me have it, I'll present it, *Wood* ran after him, as if he would have taken him, but up gets the Bishop to the Council Board, and gives in the Accusation, which made the Lord Chamberlain of *England* cry out, *Well done Bishop, thou art the frankest Fellow among them all, none of them will make thy leap good*, meaning his former leaping out of the Lord *Grang's* Ship to save himself; but *Lidingtown* seeing the Regents unconstancy, rounds him in the Ear, that he had disgraced himself, and put his Life in danger by the loss of so good a Friend as the Duke of *Norfolk*, and that he had lost his Reputation for ever.

The Regent soon repents his Folly, and desires to have the Accusation again alledged; he had some more to add thereto; but was answered, That they would keep what they had, and were ready to receive any addition he should please to give in: The Duke of *Norfolk* had much ado to keep his Countenance, *Wood* tip'd the wink upon *Cecil*, who smiled upon him again; the Regents company were Laughing, only *Lidingtown* had a sorrowful Heart, and the Regent himself left the Council with Tears in his Eyes, and retired to his Lodgings at *Kingstown* and continued there for a long time in great displeasure and fear, without Money to spend, or hopes to get any from the Queen. In the mean time, the Agreement between the Duke and Regent was

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told the Queen; for *Morton* caused one *John Willock* to declare what had past between them to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, who caused the Lord *Leicester* to acquaint the Queen therewith. The Duke finding how all things stood, thought to out-brave it, and stuck not to tell the Queen her self, While he lived he would ne'er Offend her, but Serve and Honour her, and after her, the Queen of *Scots*, as in his Opinion, truest Heir, and the only means for saving of Civil Wars and much Bloodshed that might fall out; which Words were as a Dagger to the Queen's Heart, though for the time she dissembled her Displeasure; but to further this great Man's Fall, though Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* seemed to mean honestly, he got the Duke and Regent reconciled again, and then the Duke declared to him, that he was resolved to marry the Queen of *Scots*, his Mistress, and that he would never permit her to come into *Scotland*, nor yet that she should ever Rebel against the Queen of *England* during her time, and also that he had a Daughter who would be a fitter Match for King *James* than any other for many Reasons, and so procured the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds from the Queen for the Regent, for which himself became security, and was forced afterward to pay the same: When the Regent had got the Money, he was easily induced by some about him, to acquaint the Queen with all that had past between the Duke and him:

himself, and withall engaged to transmit back unto her all the Letters which the Duke should write to him when he came into *Scotland*, which was done accordingly : The Duke was then the greatest Subject in *Europe*, he Ruled the Queen, and all those that were familiar with her, and was Courted by all Factions, both Protestants and Papists, both paying him a very great Deference, and at that time commanded all the North of *England*, and it was in his Power to have set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty if he had pleased ; but when the Queen had had his Letters from *Scotland*, she sent for the Duke to come to Court, whereupon he first posted in haste to Secretary *Cecil*, on whose Advice and Friendship he much relied, who told him, there was no danger, he might come and go at his Pleasure, no man would, or durst offend him, and so the Duke only with his own Train came to Court, *Cecil* in the meantime informed the Queen, that the necessity of the time obliged her not to omit this occasion, but to take the matter stoutly upon her self, and forthwith command her Guards to lay hands upon the Duke, or else no other durst do it, which if she did not at this time, she would endanger the safety of her Crown : The Queen embraced the Advice, and so orders the Duke to be secured, when he thought all *England* was at his Devotion, who after a long Imprisonment, was Executed, ending his Life, (as *Sir James Melvill* says) devoutly in the Reformed Religion.

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From *Carlisle* this forlorne Queen was removed to *Bolton*, under the custody of *Sir Francis Knowles*, and from thence to *Tutbury* under the Care of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and in whose custody she remained for the space of Fifteen years; but the many Attempts made for her Liberty, and other more dangerous suspicions increasing against her, caused her to be committed to the keeping of *Sir Anias Pawler*, and *Sir Druce Druery*, where she solicited with more greater importunity than ever, the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Spaniard by *Sir Francis Inglesfield*, to hasten what they had in hand with all speed against the Queen of *England*, whatever became of her; and at length, holding correspondence with *Babington* and the rest of the Conspirators against Queen *Elisabeth's* Life, which you may read in *Cambden's Elizabeth* at large; this drew on the fatal Day, whereon she was to be called to an account for what she had done; and to this end it was agreed to have her Tryed upon the late Statute made against such as should attempt any violence against the Queen's Person, &c. and 24 Lords, and others of inferior Degree, were Commissionated by the Queen's Patent for her Tryal, who met *Octob. 11. 1586.* in *Fotheringham Castle* in the County of *Northampton*, where the Queen of *Scott* was then in custody, and next day sent *Sir Walter Mildmay* and others to her, with the Queen's Letter about her Crimes and Tryal;

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Tryal; which when she had read, she complained of her ill usage, excused her carriage, and seemed to question the Commissioners Authority, but they justify their Authority, and advise her to appear to her Tryal; but she excepted against the new Law, and required to have her Protestation admitted, which was denied; at length she is brought on the 14th Day to appear, to whom *Bromley* the Chancellor made a Speech, how Queen *Elizabeth* their Sovereign being informed of her Conspiracies against her Life, she was now called upon to Answer for the same, and to clear her self if she could, and make her Innocency appear to the World; here she would have urged her Protestation again, of being no Subject of *England*, but a Crowned Head, but that being again rejected, she submitted her self to a Trial, and after a long Hearing, and several proofs made of her being privy to the Design against the Queen's Life; and of her intention to convey her Title and Claim to the Kingdom of *England*, to the *Spaniard*, &c. The Court Adjourned till the 25th of *October*, to the *Star-Chamber* at *Westminster*, at what time *Wacee* and *Curle* her Secretaries, did *viva voce*, voluntarily, and without hope of Reward, avow all and every the Letters and Copies of Letters produced at the Trial to be True and Real, upon which, Sentence was pronounced against her, and Ratified by the Seals and Subscriptions of the Commissioners, in these words:

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By their unanimous Consent they do Pronounce and Declare this judicial Verdict, and say, that after the end of the said Parliament (specified in the Commission) *viz.* After the first of *June* in the Seven and twentieth year of the Queen, divers Matters were compassed and imagined in *England* by *Anthony Babington* and others, with the Privy of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, pretending Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the Royal Person of our Sovereign Lady the Queen : and furthermore, that after the said Day and Year, and before the Date of our Commission, the said *Mary*, hath compassed and imagined in this Kingdom of *England*, divers Matters tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign, against the Form of the Statute specified in the said Commission. Soon after a Parliament was called, wherein the House of Peers, by the Chancellor, petitioned the Queen, that the Sentence might be promulgated ; and withal, besought Her Majesty for the Safety of Her Person and Kingdoms, to execute Justice on the Queen of *Scots* ; the Queen in her Answer, shewed a great reluctance to cut her off ; but concluded with Her Thanks for their Care and Advice ; but in a case of so great consequence, said, She would not be rash, but consider, and some Twelve days after desir'd the Parliament to consult some other way of Safety,
and

and to spare the Queen of *Scots*, but they persisted in their former Advice, so that some time after the Sentence was proclaimed throughout *London*, and all the Kingdom: King *James* upon the news, sends one *Kieth* to Queen *Elisabeth*, to intercede on his Mothers behalf, and after him came the Master of *Gray*, and Sir *Robert Melvill*, to whom She said, She was sorry no way could be found out, to Save their King's Mother, and secure her own Life; they offer Pledges of the *Scots* Nobility for Her Security; and wondred what should move any Man to attempt any thing against Her Majesty for Queen *Mary's* sake; because, said Queen *Elisabeth*, they think She shall succeed me, and She a Papist; they to salve this Proposed, that the Right of Succession might be made over in King *James's* Person, and this would cut off the hopes of the Papists, and they were sure Queen *Mary* would readily resign all her Right to Her Son; but Queen *Elisabeth* urged, She had no Right, being Declar'd incapable of Succession, tho' the Papists would not allow her Declaration, and this brought them again to press the Resignation, but the Earl of *Liccester*, who stood by, objected, that Queen *Mary* being a prisoner, she could not deny't: the *Scots* Answer, That it being made to her Son, with the Advice of all her Friends in *Europe*, in case Queen *Elisabeth* should miscarry, none will partake with the Mother

against her Son, &c. Here the Queen misunderstanding the Ambassador's meaning, was told that the King would be in his Mother's Place; Say you so, said she, 'Sdeath, that were to cut my own Throat; he shall ne'r come to that place and be Party with me; and added, Well, tell your King what I have done for him to keep the Crown on his Head, since he was Born, and for my part, I shall keep the League betwixt us, and if he break it, it shall be a double Fault, and in passion got away; Melvill followed her, praying respite of Execution; not an Hour, said she, and so they parted. Some time after she Signed a Warrant for a Mandate fitted for the Great Seal, for her Execution, and entrusted the same with *Davidson*, one of her Secretaries, to be in a readiness in case of danger; but he too hastily got it to pass the Seal, which some said, she would afterwards have recalled, but was prevented by the earnest prosecution of *Beal*, Clerk of the Council, who was sent by them to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, and *Cumberland*, to take care of her Execution, unknown to the Queen; for it was said, that she should tell *Davidson* at that instant, that she was resolved of another way then by death; the Earls arriving at *Fotheringham Castle* in *Northamptonshire*, where she was detained, gave her notice on Monday, Feb. 6. 1586. to prepare for Death the Wednesday next following, but one; when

when the fatal day came, she was cloathed in Black, had an *Agnus Dei* about her Neck, a pair of Beads at her Girdle, with a Golden Cross at the end of them, and so passed through the Hall, and mounted the Scaffold, raised Two Foot high, and Twelve broad, Railed about, with a low Stool, a Cushion, and a Block, all covered with Black; being set down, the Lords and the Sheriffs of the Countey stood on her Right Hand, Sir *Annis Paulet* and *Drewry* on her Left; the two Executioners, one the Common Hangman of *London*, and the other of the County, standing before her, and the Knights and Gentlemen placed round about without the Rail; Silence being made, the Clerk of the Council, having read the Commission for her Execution, the People shouted and cryed, *God Save our Queen*; then Dr. *Fletcher*, Dean of *Peterborough* standing before her, gave her several Godly Exhortations, as preparatory for her Death, but she little regarded him, and at last interrupted him, saying he needed not trouble himself, that she was a *Roman Catholick*, and so forth, then the Earls offered to join in Prayer with her, that she might be enlightned in the true Faith, but that she refused to do, saying, she would use her own Devotions; then they required the Dean to Pray, who did it with an audible Voice, the Queen all the while sitting on her Stool, with a Latin Prayer-Book in her Hand, a Crucifix

fix and a pair of Beads, and not minding what he said; when the Dean had done, the Queen with her own People, all in Tears Prayed aloud in Latin, and concluded her self with an English Prayer, professing to be Saved by Christ's Blood, and thereupon kissed the Crucifix; then her Women begun to undress her, and one of the Executioners taking from her Neck the *Agnus Dei* tyed behind, the Queen laid hold on it, gave it to her Women, saying, he should have Money; but she suffered them and her Women to take off her Chain and Apparel in some haste, always smiling, and put off her strait Sleeves with her own Hands, hindring the Fellow who rudely offer'd at it, to do it; and now being in her Petticoat and Kirtle, prepared for Death; she crossed and kissed her Women, who were lamentably skreeking and crying, and crossed also her Men-Servants who stood without the Rails, and then kneeled upon her Cushion, saying in Latin the whole Psalm, *In te Domine confido, ne confundas in eternum*, and groping for the Block, laid down her Head, putting her Chin over the Block with both her Hands, and held them there, which might have been cut off with her Head, had they not been timely espyed: being thus fixed, while one of the Executioners gently held her down, the other, with two stroaks with the Axe, severed her Head from her Body, leaving only a little Gristle uncut, without
the

the least stir or motion of the Body ; and lifting up her Head, said, *God Save our Queen* ; her Lips moved for about a Quarter of an Hour after, and her Head-Cloaths falling off, her Head appeared as Grey as if shee had been Seventy years old, whereas she was but Forty six. Having thus brought this unhappy Queen to her fatal Catastrophe, we now return to her Son *James VI.* who notwithstanding afterward his vain boast of his inherent Birth-right, when he came to be King of *England*, during her long Captivity in *England*; being above 18 years, possess her Throne in *Scotland*; he was Born on the 15th of *June*, in the year 1566, and about Fourteen Months after Crowned King in his Mother's stead, she being forced by the Nobles to resign to him. The Kingdom, during some part of his Minority, was Governed by the Earl of *Murray*, as Regent, but he being murdered basely by one *Hamilton* at *Lithgow*; *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather was advanced into his room ; during whose Regency two Factions continued as before, the one for the young King, and the other for the Deposed Queen : but by the means of Sir *James Melvill* and others, the Queen was brought upon the point of Agreement with the Regent ; but the Earl of *Morton* returning to Court, he and *Randolph* the English Ambassador suspecting the probability of such an apparent agreement, which had

had been kept secret from them, they fell a plotting which way to obstruct the same, and resolved, as the most probable means to have a Parliament convened, and therein got all the Queens Lords forefaulted, whereby the Regent should utterly ruin the ancient Families of the *Hamiltons*; and this would afford a bait to every one of the King's Lords, seeing they should be made sharers of the spoil, and every one of them get wealth enough; Mr. *Randolph* for their encouragement, gave them assurance from *England*, so as they needed not fear any resistance from their Adversaries; and *Morton* to clench the Nail, First represented in Council, that the Queen's Lords had an intention to re-establish Popery; upon which Allegation he knew he would make them odious to the generality of the People, and upon their being Forefaulted, that each of them should have a share of the said Lord's Estates, which brought the Council readily to consent to a Parliament, to be held at *Sterling* to the same purpose. The Queen's Lords to be even with them, held another Parliament at *Edinburgh*, at the same time, and with the same Design of Forefaulting, as the King's Lords; in the mean time the Laird of *Grainge* was highly concerned at those violent proceedings, wherefore he sent for the Laird of *Fer* in haste, and *Buccleugh*, to come to him one Evening to *Edenburg* with a good Guard along with them, and tell them, according

ing to the projection he had already devised, that that same Night after they had Supped, and fed heir Horses, they should ride with them to *Sterling*, so as to be there early in the Morning, before any of the Lords who held the Parliament were out of their Beds, hoping by the Intelligence he had received, assuredly to surprize them before they could be advertised thereof: the Project they all readily agreed to, but they would not allow *Grange* to go along with them, for fear any disaster should befall him, who was the Life of them all, and so on they march, under the Leading of the Earl of *Huntley*, and some others, and were got to *Sterling* by Four next Morning, whereinto they entred by a little passage, being conducted by a Townsman, one *George Bell*; which entry of theirs, was immediately after their Night-watches had retired to their Rest; they divided their Men into several Partys, and appointed such as they thought meetest at every Lord's Lodgings; leaving one body under Capt. *Hackerston* at the *Market-Cross*, to see good Order kept, and to prevent any spoil to be committed; only they ordered the Stables to be searched, and all the Horses in the Town to be carried away, which was punctually executed; but because Captain *Hackerston* did not come in due time with his Company, to attend at the *Market-Cross* according to appointment, a Company of unruly Servants broke open the

the Shops, and run up and down to take what spoil they could get; in the mean while, after they had taken out all the Lords from their Lodgings, and were leading of them prisoners down the steep Causey of *Sterling*, on foot, intending to take them Horses at the *Nether-Gate*, and to ride to *Edenburg* with their Captives; those within the Castle hearing the noise of the Townsmen crying out, because of the plundering of their Houses, and considering what a disgrace it would be to them, if they did not shew themselves Men upon such an occasion; they Sallied out boldly, and perceiving the disorder of the Enemy, rescued all the Prisoners saving the Regent, whom one shot in the Back, at the Command (as was alleged) of the Lord *Pachey*; he died of the Wound some days after.

The next Regent was the Earl of *Mor*, the Discord still continued: His Government held not long, for being one day invited to Dinner by the Earl of *Morton*, he returned home and sickned, died soon after, not without vehement suspicion of having been poisoned at his Banquet.

Morton came in after him Regent, the Division between the Lords not yet made up, some Overtures of an Accommodation were made, but the Queen's Lords finding the Regent not sincere in all Respects, refused the Agreement, and were at last Besieged in *Edinburgh* Castle by an English Army,

Army, which they surrendered upon Articles that were basely broke, and most of them executed: The King now growing up, began to hate the Regent, he being aware of it, fed those about him to infuse in him a good Opinion of him, but in vain, and so a Council was appointed at *Edenburgh*, wherein it was agreed to Depose him, *Morton* thereupon retires to the House of *Locheleven*, within the *Lough* for his greater security; but while he was there his Head was continually a plodding how he might again become Master of the Court then at *Sterling*, which he accomplished in the dead of one night, in this manner. When he came to the Gates of the Castle, they were opened to him by the two Abbots, and a Faction they had drawn in there with them, though the Master of *Mar* and Earl of *Argyle* made what resistance they could; yet *Morton* prevailed, but handled the matter so discreetly and moderately as possible he could, that the alteration might not appear to be over sharp or violent; but the Lord *Aubonie*, about that same time coming into *Scotland* from *France*, which Lord was afterward Created Duke of *Lennox*, and was Brothers Son to the late Earl of *Lennox*: He and *James Steward* of *Oghilrie*, did in a short time gain the ascendancy over the King's Affections, who was like a Tennis-Ball tossed from one Favourite to another, all his days, they framed an Accusation against *Morton*, and got

got him committed to *Edinburgh* Castle, from whence in a short time he was brought to his Tryal and Condemned, for having an hand in the Lord *Darnley*, the King's Father's Murder; that he was privy to the same he did not deny at his Execution, and withall confessed, that he had a design to send the young King into *England* for his Safety; and so there's another Governor gone, who was the fourth and last, and every one whereof died a violent Death: and now the King assumes the Government himself, and if he was unhappy during the time of the Regency, I think it will appear it was no better with him ever after, for he himself was as much governed now by his Favourites and Sycophants, as the Kingdom had been by a Regent; and the first into whose Hands he fell, was *Aubanie*, now Created Duke of *Lennox*, and a Papist, and the aforesaid *James Steward*, who assumed to himself the Style and Title, and then the Earldom of *Arran*; These two led him by the Nose at their Pleasure, and carried all things with an high Hand, lording it over the rest of the Nobility, and aiming at their Estates, which made them begin to look about them, and concluding after serious Consultation, that from two such Counsellors no wholesome Advice could proceed for the Peace of the Country, and Establishment of Religion, but rather, if they were suffered to go on still, both the one
and

and the other would be endangered; they resolve to remove them: The King was at that time designing to go from *Abol* to *Dumfermling* to take his usual Divertisement of Hunting, where the Lords designed to encounter him with a supplication full of Complaints, against the Duke and Earl, with pressing Instances for the removing of them; and lest their supplication should miscarry, they backt it with strong Forces which could not be resisted; The King had but a very few attendance at *Dumfermling*, for *Lennox* staid at *Dalkeith*, and *Arran* at *Kinnreel*, and several of the Council were gone to hold the Assizes in divers Shires of the Country; Sir *James Melvill* was at *Edenburgh*, whither a Gentleman one morning came to his Bed-side, and told him, that he had formerly done him several kindnesses, which till then he was never able to recompence, but that now he would make him an Instrument of saving the King his Master out of the Hands of those who were upon an enterprize to take and secure him; *Melvill* replied, he could hardly believe such a thing, but that he feared the Duke of *Lennox* might be in danger, who was gone to *Glasgow*, because of the Hatred that was bore to him by the Nobility; The Gentleman subjoyned, they will lay hands first on the King's Person, and then the Duke, and Earl of *Arran* dare no more be seen, their insolency being looked upon as the Cause of almost all the

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Disorders of the Nation; and when he had so said, he desired the King might be acquainted with the matter; but to have his Name concealed from him, for he said, that design would be put in execution in ten days time, and as Sir *James* started up to put on his Cloaths, he slipped out at the door with a short farewell. Sir *James* upon this Information rides with all the expedition imaginable to *Dalkēth*, where the Duke of *Lennox* then was, and laid the whole matter open before him, and advised him withal to lose no time, but to Ride to the King to give him notice, that he might make timely provision for his own security; but the Duke chose rather to dispatch a Gentleman with all possible diligence to the King upon that Occasion, and wished Sir *James* to write to the Earl of *Gaury* about the same, for it seems the Gentleman that gave him the first Information of the Plot, had not named *Gaury* with the rest of the Lords to him, either out of forgetfulness, or else because he had been but lately won over to the Party by the Laird of *Drumwassel*, who had assured him that *Lennox* had resolved to kill him wherever he met him, and used this as a convincing argument to Embark the Earl in the same Cause; but however matters fell out, the Lords receded from their first Resolution of presenting their supplication as aforesaid, and would not tarry till the King came to *Dumferling*, but they surprised him

him at *Huntingtown-House*, which was the Earl of *Garry's*, its uncertain whether it were not done with a design to imbarck the Earl more deeply in their Bond, or that fearing least the design was discovered, they made the greater haste to execute the same, by seising the King there, which was afterward called the Road of *Ruthven*: The King is once more a Prisoner, and the Lords conduct him to *Sterling-Castle*, where he is kept for a time: In the mean while the French King and Queen *Elizabeth* by their Ambassadors, make Instances for his Liberty, and Condole his Misfortune; but so hen-hearted was he, that he ordered their Ambassadors to declare to their respective Princes, that he was well satisfied with the Lords that were about him, that they were his own Subjects, &c. and when the Lords called a Council to resolve what course to take, he agreed with them to form an Act, declaring, That what they had done was good service to himself, the Kirk, and Commonwealth; though Mr. *Carey*, who I think was afterward Created Earl of *Monmouth*, whispered him in the Ear, and desired him to tell the plain Truth, which he engaged to conceal from all others whatsoever, and only acquaint the Queen his Mistress therewith, he told him his Heart was full fraught with Grief and Displeasure at his Misfortune.

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The Lords having thus effected their purpose, as having now rid the Court of the Duke of *Lennox*, who fled into *France*. and the Earl of *Arran*, whom they committed to the Custody of the Earl of *Ganry*, most of them withdrew from the Court to their respective homes, whereupon the King retaining a displeasure still in his Heart towards them, takes occasion to appoint a Convention to be held at *St. Andrews*, whereunto by Missive Letters he invited some of the Nobility, but none of the Lords that had lately left him, designing thereby to get loose out of their Hands, and to retain about him such Lords as he had written for; and notwithstanding some about him endeavoured to divert him from the said Resolution, alledging the fresh Jealousie that would be Created in the absent Lords by such a procedure, and with all the Power they had to be revenged of the conceived affront, he rejected the advice; wherefore for the better management of his design, it was thought expedient, that he should go a few days to *St. Andrews*, before the Convention was to meet, that being once there, a Proclamation might be issued out to forbid any Nobleman whatsoever to come to the said Convention without express Orders from the King so to do, and to this end, it was contrived, that the Earl of *March* should give him an invitation to be at the place

two

two or three days before the time, under pretence, that the preparations he had made of Wild Meats, and other things, for his Reception, would be spoiled, if he came not somewhat sooner than the appointed day, (a silly excuse) but on he goes contrary to the advice of some about him, who were sensible of the inconveniencies that might attend it, especially since the Lords, whom he had summoned could not be there so soon, and when he arrived at *St. Andrews*, he took up his Lodgings at an old Inn, whose greatest security was the Yard Dykes, of little consideration; *Milvil*, who saw the vanity of such doings, goes to the Provost to see what force he could make for the Kings security, in case he were exposed to any danger, who answered very few, and those not to be relied upon, but returning to the King, and believing, that the Proclamation had been made, that no Man should come to the Convention unseat for; he found the Abbot of *Dumfermling*, and the Earl of *Marshall* there; the Abbot, who was of the contrary Faction, yet did by his Wit and Dissembling Practices, so manage the King, that the Proclamation was not only stopped, but Missive Letters sent to the rest of the Nobility to come, but under the Restriction that each Nobleman should come attended with no more than two Persons; Some of his Adherents, who

foresaw this would unravel the whole design, reminded him of the danger, and advised him to retire into the Castle, which they could not persuade him to do till after Supper : Next day, all the Lords, as well written as unwritten for, came to *St. Andrews*, the latter strongly armed, and the others not ; The Abbot, who was with the King in the Castle, pretending all manner of Zeal for his Service, advised him to let none of the Lords come within the Castle accompanied with any more than twelve Persons, which (tho' he were now in a place of security, if well managed) had like to have brought him again into a State of Captivity ; for the next morning the Castle was full of Men, and the contrary Party being well Armed, had already possessed themselves of the Stair-Head and Galleries, resolving a second time to be Masters of the King and all his Followers ; but the Earl of *March*, his Gentlemen, with the Provosts Men, and some others, got thither with such diligence, that the design was rendered abortive for that time, so that next day the King for fear of a further surprise, gave them fair Words, promising all alike there of his favour and Protection, which for the time seemed to give Contentment to all the Parties ;

In the mean while the Earl of *Arran* got the Favour to be confined in his own House at *Kinneall*, from whence he sends to Congratulate his Majesty's safe deliverance, begging leave to come to Court to kiss the King's Hand, which for the time was denied; but he still persisting in his Sollicitation, by the help of some Friends, and promising to make no manner of stay, but to withdraw again to his Habitation; the King, whose Affections were still towards him, and Born it seems to be ruled by others, tho' he could not chuse but know he was obnoxious to the whole Kingdom, and had been a principal Cause of the King's former confinement, grants him leave; the Earl had no sooner access, no more thought of his Promise, but staid not only at Court, but in a short time altered all the ways of procedure, with a design to draw the management of all publick Affairs to himself, as before; this was a great mortification to many about the King, and Colonel *Steward* resented it highly, saying, *That if his Majesty suffered that Villain to remain at Court, he would yet again undo all;* but at last they were reconciled and became great Friends, and from henceforward the Earl managed the King, Council, and all other Affairs of the Kingdom, as despotically, as if he had been *Grand Signior*, or Mayor of the Palace in *France*; the King was easily induced by him to spend most of his time a Hunting, and to be content

with whatever Relation he gave him of the Publick Affairs; and when he had gained this point, he bent his whole force for to ruin the *Rushwen Road* Lords, notwithstanding the Publick Faith given them for their Indemnity; Queen *Elizabeth* about this time sent to King *James* a sharp Letter concerning his mismanagement of his Affairs, and promised to send Sir *Francis Walsingham* into *Scotland*, by whom, she said, she intended to deal with him as an Affectionate Sister, and one from whom he might see he should receive Honour and Contentment, with more safety to himself and Kingdom, than by following the pernicious Councils of those crafty dissembling Advisers about him; but there was nothing could stop the career of this mighty Favourite *Arran*, who obtains the Government of *Sterling-Castle* to the rest, and banished several Noblemen, as the Earls of *Mar*, *Angus*, &c. and by his insolent behaviour, drove the Noble Earl of *Gawry*, and almost all other honest Men from Court at length *Walsingham* arrived, who after he had been with the King, and pursued his Instructions, prepared to return home; *Arran* would fain have entred into a familiar Conference with him, but Sir *Francis* disdained to speak with him; the other enraged with the conceived affront, and finding no other way of Revenge, but what must bring great dishonour upon the King, (a poor tool to suffer it) gave Orders
that

that the Captains of *Berwick*, and several worthy Gentlemen who came to convoy Secretary *Walsingham*, should not be suffered to enter into the King's Presence Chamber; and not content herein, when the King had ordered a rich Diamond, to the value of 700 Crowns to be given to the Secretary; instead thereof, the Earl puts a scornful Present upon him, of a Ring with a Chrystal stone sett therein only; a Presumption undoubtedly, that *Henry 8.* would have punished with the loss of his Head, had the Earl been his Subject: but this way of procedure was so far from exciting the King to vindicate his own Honour, which was abominably blemish'd hereby, that when he was determined to go to *Edenburgh* to call a Convention of the Estates, more Honours must be put upon the Earl; for to that of the Government of *Sterling-Castle*, already in his Hands, was added that of *Edenburgh Castle*, the two most important Fortresses in the Kingdom; and least a Military Power was not yet sufficient both for his Greatness and Security, he gets himself Declared Lord Chancellor, and so Head of the Civil Power in the Kingdom; and now he Triumphs, making the whole Subjects tremble under him, and by daily seeking out, and inventing new crimes against others, to get their Lands and Possessions, several of the Nobility he banished, but more especially, shot directly at the Earl of *Gowrey's* Life and Estate; but

but the Earl could not be content to Domineer as he pleased, over the King's Natural Subjects, but he must mock and deride with the ignorant multitude, the *Danish* Ambassadors also, and use them with all the despite imaginable; for it seems, they knowing his former meanness in *Swedenland*, made no great Court to him, which raised his Fury; this was quickly perceived by some about the King, whom the Earls Practices and Insolence had disobliged, and who failed not to let the King know it; and for all the Earls Ascendency made him somewhat to decline in Favour, which another accident gave a helping hand to, for Sir *Francis Russell*, upon some disorders that fell out upon the Borders, happening to be slain of the *English* side; Mr. *Wotton* the *English* Ambassador, who stood in competition with the Earl for the King's Favour, took occasion to lay the blame upon him, alledging that the Laird of *Fernibast*, who was Warden of the *Scotts* Borders, had Married the Earl of *Arran's* Brothers Daughter, and that the said Earl had caused the slaughter to be committed, that the Borders might break loose: *Wotton* was seconded by others in this complaint so effectually, that the Earl was committed prisoner to the Castle of *St. Andrews*, where having remained for a few days, he got by the intercession of the Master of *Gray*, whom he won with fair promises to be his Friend; (It's strange he should find any, who

who had disoblged every Body) leave to retire to his own House ; and here the King played a Noble prank, but whether he used it as *Lex talionis* for the sham-Ring *Arran* had put upon *Walsingham* as aforesaid, and which he durst not otherwise punish, I am not certain : but it looks like his little tricks, which notwithstanding he dignified with the name of *Kingcraft* ; for when the Earl was upon his journey homeward, he sends to him with all possible diligence, for to lend him a great Gold Chain, which he knew he had got from Sir *James Belfour*, which weighed 57 Crowns, to be given to the *Danish* Ambassadors, which if the Earl had refused to do, he would (it's likely) have lost the King ; and in delivering of it he lost his Chain.

Arran being thus retired, makes several attempts to recover his former station ; and the King, it was observed, retained a Favour for him, and would have been content to have Himself and Kingdom still Governed by him, he was once again admitted to Court ; but others had stepped in, and the King had not power to remove them ; so that the Earl after long retirement and discontent, was surprized at last by *James Douglass* at *Parkhead*, and slain by him, in revenge of the death of the Earl of *Morton* his Uncle ; and but little care taken to punish the same, many thinking it indeed strange, that he should be permitted so long to live, who had carried

ed it so arrogantly and insolently towards all Men, in the time of his Ascendency at Court; but several other Accidents intervened before the Earls *Exst.* The next Man that had the chief Credit and Management of Affairs, was Mr. *Wotton* the *English* Ambassador, but tho' the King begun now to be Governed by a Favourite, and a Forreiner under this Character, yet it did not end here, as you shall hear by and by when the Scene is transplanted into *England*, *Wotton* knew as well as any Man alive, how to humour him in his pleasures, and such familiar access had he at all times to his Person, that he attempted to have brought in the banished Lords, (whose Interest he had espoused, not without the direction, to be sure, of the *English* Court) secretly into his presence in the Parish of *Sterling*, at such a time as they should have so many Friends at Court, that he must have remained once more at their Devotion; but all things did not so concur, as to put this Enterprize in practice; so it was laid aside, and Mr. *Wotton* essayed a Second, but more desperate attempt, which was to Kidnap *Jemmy* out of the foresaid Park into *England*, see Sir *James Melvill*; but Sir *Robert Melvill* coming to a timeous Knowledge hereof, took measures to prevent it, which made the *English* Ambassador withdraw home, without bidding of them once a good night; the Lords for all this enter the Borders, being assisted by the Lords *Hamilton*, *Maxwel*, *Hume*, and

of

several others, and advance to the number of Three thousand Men towards *Sterling*, entring the Town without any opposition, where they were no sooner arrived, but there appear'd two Factions with the King in the Castle, the one favouring the Lords, whose part the King took, as if he had really desired the Lords should have come thither in this manner to tear his Minions from his Heart; and so once more the King is in their Power, which they exercised with great moderation, only a few were committed for the present, to the custody of some Noblemen, and so a Parliament was called, as the best expedient to heal all their breaches.

Things continued in some sort of Concord for a little while, and the Convicting and Beheading of the Queen his Mother, in *England*, seemed to possess all their Minds with amazement at the Fact, for the present, tho' I do not find, he did at all resent it; but this was no sooner over, but there appears a new Faction at Court, headed by the Earl of *Huntley*, whose aim was at the removing of the Master of *Gray*, and *Maitland* the Chancellor, with their Adherents, but finding it was not so easily to be effected, *Huntley*, *Bothwell* and others contrived to seize the King's Person, and to keep him in their custody; but this proving Abortive, the noise of the *Spanish* Invasion, which was dreaded in *Scotland*, as well as in *England*, seemed to lay all Animosities aside for the present; but this blowing

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ing over, the King's Thoughts seemed to be taken all up about Marrying, the Sister of the King of *Denmark* was the Lady proposed, and Queen *Elizabeth* consulted with thereupon, who dissuaded him therefrom, and said she had Interest with the King and Princess of *Navarr*, and that she would employ the same for effectuating of a Marriage between him and the said Princess, but the King was bent upon the former, and because he found the Chancellor and some others oppose it, he could not, or would not be seen openly to controul them, but dealt secretly with some of the Deacons of the Craftsmen of *Edenburg*, to form a Mutiny against the Chancellor and some of the Council, threat'ning to kill them; in case the Marriage with the Daughter of *Denmark* were hindred, or any longer delayed; whereupon the Earl of *Marshall* was sent thither with Power to Treat about the said Marriage, but withal, in so stinted and limited a degree, contrived by the Craft of the Chancellor, and his Faction, that he was necessitated to send the Lord *Dingwall* back from thence, to desire either liberty to return hence, or to have sufficient Power to conclude the Treaty; when he came, he hapned to find the King at *Aberdeen* without the Chancellor, &c, so that what he could not do while he was present, he was able to effect; with much ado in his absence; surely never was any King so ridden as he, and the Messenger returns

returns with full power, which brought the Treaty quickly to a Conclusion, and so the Queen with a goodly Train was sent away towards *Scotland*; but stay a little, she did not so soon arrive as you may think for, you'll be apt to enquire the reason of it, pray take it along with you; and think it not a digression: It seems the Admiral of *Denmark*, who had the Charge to Convey this Royal Bride, happening to strike one of the Bailiffs of *Copenhagen*, whose Wife was a Witch, she consulting with her Associates in their Black Art, concluded, in order to be revenged on the Admiral, to raise a terrible Storm, which lasted for several Days, and drove their Ships with great danger and violence upon the Coast of *Norway*, where they were forced to stay, because of the continuance of the said Tempest for a long time; and a *Scotch* Gentlewoman, whose name was *Jane Kennedy*, and sent before in a Vessel to meet the Queen, by the King's Orders, was drowned about the same time in a Storm on the *Scotch* Coast, raised by two *Scotch* Witches, who confess the Fact, as Sir *J. Melvill* says: it's like there is a Sympathy in Witchcraft, as well as in some other things; and now you shall hear of the most valiant Act that e'r King *James* was guilty of; for being very impatient and sorrowful that the Queen was so long a coming, this Knight Errant resolves to commit himself to the raging Seas, to encounter Shipwrack, Storms, Witchcraft,

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craft, and what not, so he might set free, and enjoy his beloved Lady: and who should wind himself into his Favour, and become his errant-Companion in this Voyage, but the Chancellor, the only Man of all others who most opposed the Match, and whom he himself a little before would have got murdered because of that, and none but such as the Chancellor pleased, must be made privy to this Expedition; and that the Adventure might appear to be brave at all points, it must be undertaken the beginning of Winter, which was ordinarily the most perilous season of the year; Storms they met with throughout; and the last day of the Voyage was more terrible than all the rest; but at length the Witch was laid, and they arrived safely in *Norway*, where the Marriage was Consummated; but the Kingdom of *Scotland* might have been spirited up into the Second Region of the Air, or laid with a spell into the bottom of the deep for that Winter; for no Arguments could perswade him to return before next Spring, from *Norway* he went by Land to the *Danish* Court, where, during his abode, he was constantly infested with the janglings of his Courtiers, who were divided into two Factions, headed by the Earl of *Marshall*, and the Chancellor, who strove for Precedency, but the Chancellor prevailed here, as he did upon the King's return hence, carrying all before him, appointing who should, and who

who should not come to Court; and in short, so handled the King and all his Affairs, that his Majesty quite forgot upon his return, the promise he had made in the High Kirk of *Edenburg*, that he would *Become a new Man*, and take the Government into his own hands; and now comes another piece of Witch Pageantry that menaced his Majesty's Life; the story was as followeth; There were some Women taken up in *Louthian*, which they called Witches, and among others one *Amy Simpson*, who it was said, charged the Earl of *Bothwell*, as being concerned in some vile Practices to bewitch the King, and that she in company with nine more of their Gang, met one night at a place called *Preson-Pans*, where the Devil being present, and standing in the midst of them, a Body of Wax was formed by the said *Amy Simpson*, wrapped up in a Linnen Cloth, which she delivered into the hands of of his Devilship, who after he had pronounced his Verdict, delivered the same back again to the said *Amy Simpson*, she to her next Neighbour, and so to every one round, saying, This is King *James* the Sixth, ordered to be consumed at the instance of a Nobleman, *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, some time after they met again by Night, in the Church of North *Lerrick*, where the Devil in a Black Gown, with a Black Hat upon his Head, came and preached to a great company of them out of the pulpit.

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the scope of his Discourse tended to what mischief they had done, how many they had got to their Opinion since the last meeting, what success the melting of the Picture had, and so forth; and because an old silly poor Plow-man among them, whose Name was *Gray Meik*, happen'd to say, that nothing ailed the King, God be Thanked, the Devil gave him a great blow, and when they all reasoned, and marvelled, that their Practices had no better effect upon him; the Devil answered in *French*, *Il est un homme de Dieu. Certainly he is a Man of God.* When he had finished his Admonitions he came down out of the Pulpit, and as a further instance of his Authority, and good Manners, he caused all the company to come and kiss his Arse, which they said was cold as Ice, his Body hard like Iron, his Face very terrible to behold, his Nose like an Eagle's Beak, with great burning Eyes, his Hands and Legs were hairy, having Claws upon both Hands and Feet like a Griffin, and spoke with a low Voice.

Some of these Haggs further deposed, that there was one *Richard Graham* who had a Familiar Spirit, who could both do and tell many things, chiefly against the Earl of *Botwell*, whereupon the said *Graham* was apprehended, brought to *Edenburg* and examined before the King; the fellow owned he had a Familiar Spirit, but said he was no Witch, and did not frequent their company, but when it was answered that *Amy*

Simpson

Simpson had declared, that he had caused the Earl of *Bothwell* to address himself to her, he granted that to be true, and farther confess'd, that the Earl coming to the knowledge of him by the means of *Else Machallown*, and *Barbary Naper*, two *Edenburgh* Women, he sent for him, and required his assistance to make the King love him, and to the effect, gave him some Herb or Drug, with which he willed him at some convenient time to touch the King's Face, which practise not meeting with the desired effect, the Earl would have engaged the said *Graham* by his Art, to destroy the King, but that he alledged he could not do that himself, but recommended it to the foresaid *Amy Simpson*, who was a notable Witch, and could gratify his Desire therein: Hereupon the Earl was committed to *Edenburgh-Castle*; from whence, after he had solicited in vain to come to his Trial, alledging that the Devil was a Lye from the beginning, and ought not to be credited, nor yet the Witches who were his Sworn Servants; he at length makes his escape over the Castle-Wall, and retired to *Cabiness*, where being strengthened by other Malecontents, who were desirous to fish in troubled Waters, he attempts to surprize the King, and to kill the Chancellor his inveterate Enemy, and to that end enters the King's Palace one Night late about Supper time, by the passage of an old Stable, not without secret intelligence of some

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about the King's Person; as soon as they had got within the close of the Palace, they cried *Justice, Justice, a Bothwell, a Bothwell*, and had infallibly been Masters of the whole; had it not been that *James Douglas*, who was one of them, after he had taken the Keys from the Porters, entered into the Rastery Lodge to relieve some of his Servants, who were detained there, upon suspicion of having an hand in the slaughter of his Father, the old Laird of *Spot*, where the Porters made some resistance, which occasioned a noise and tumult sooner than the Enterprizers had designed: the King, Chancellor, and others were horribly alarmed at this, and knew not what to do; *Bothwell* with Mr. *John Colvill* and others, made directly to the Queen's Chamber door, where they supposed the King to be, but the Door was valiantly defended by *Harry Linsy* of *Kilfans*, Master of the Queens Household; but the Earl prevailing at last, broke open the Doors with Hammers, and *Colvill* brought Fire to burn it; the King in the mean time was conveyed to the Tower above the said Chamber; the Chancellor who was in his Hall at Supper, when he heard the first noise, fled unto his Chamber and made the door fast upon him, shutting out Sir *Robert Melvill* who supped along with him, and who was forced to retire to another empty House, where he continued all the while out of harms way, and the Chancellor with his Servants, that continually

tiguallly shot out of the Windows, made
 such a resistance, as that the Assailants
 were forced to retire; *Melville* says, that
 when they first entred into the Palace, he
 was at Supper with the Duke of *Lennox*,
 who immediately took his Sword in hand,
 and would have rushed upon the Enemy,
 but having no company, and finding the
 place already full of the Enterprizers,
 they were forced to fortify their Doors
 and Stairs, with Tables, Forms and Stools,
 and be spectators of all that hurly-bur-
 ly for the space of an Hour together,
 hearing and beholding by Torch-light out
 of the Duke's Gallery, their reeling and
 rumbling with Halberts, clashing their
 Culverins, and Pistols, the blows of their
 Malls and Hammers, and crying continu-
 ally for Justice; now there was a passage
 between the Chancellor's Chamber and
 the Duke of *Lennox's*, by a pair of Stairs,
 by which the Chancellor came up and de-
 sired admittance in to the Duke; the Duke,
 by Sir *James Melville's* advice, told the Chan-
 cellor, that for himself he was welcome to
 enter in, but desired he would cause his
 Men to stay at the nether Door, and resist
 as long as they could; this the Chancellor
 took in all part, and so retired again to his
 own Chamber; but in the meantime, while
 all these things were in agitation, word
 was brought to Sir *Andrew Melville*, Master
 of the King's Household, of the enterprize
 and danger the King, and Chancellor was

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in, without speedy relief, who procuring all the succor that the time would permit, from the *Cannon Gate*, and knowing there was a secret passage through the Abby into the Palace, entred with his Men by the same in Armour; whereof when the Earl of *Bothwell* and his followers had notice, they stole silently through the Galleries, unto that part where they first entred the Palace; and chancing in their retreat to meet with *John Shaw* the King's Master-Stabler, they slew him and his Brother, being in a rage, that their enterprize had met with such bad success; however, some of them were taken by Sir *Andrew*, and executed the day following.

The King almost dead with fear, would stay no longer at *Dalkeith*, but in all haste gets to *Edinburg*, where continual Plots were laid to surprize him, and such enmity arose among the Courtiers, and more especially among the Duke of *Lennox* and the Chancellor, that it must have a King of other guess courage than King *James* for to reconcile and compose them; the Chancellor one while being forced to retire, but brought in again and ruled the roast afresh, but it was not long before private Animosities engendring publick Calamities, had like to have brought the King into greater danger than any wherewith he had been hitherto menaced, for the Earl of *Huntley* was at variance with the Earl of *Murray*,
the

the Earls of *Caithness* and *Sunderland*, together by the Ears, and the Lords *Hamilton* and *Angus* at great strife; which discord was chiefly occasioned, because most of them had obtained Commissions with large Priviledges over other Lands as well as over their own; and this at last terminated in an open hostility: when the Council was advertised hereof, they set a day, wherein first the Earls of *Murray* and *Huntley* should appear, there being a Gentleman of the Name of *Gourdon* shot by the Earl of *Murray*, out of the House of *Farnue*, both parties came strongly attended, and for fear of mischief, were ordered to keep their Lodgings lest any tumult should arise; the Chancellor who now managed all Affairs, advised the King to require Security from both the Earls for their good behaviour for the future, to keep them both asunder, by detaining the one at Court for a time, and sending the other home; but Sir *James Melvill* was for a present Agreement between both Parties, and judged the King might easily effect it; but the Chancellor taunted so at Sir *James* for his advice, that he was forced to give way, and so *Huntley* according to the Chancellor's project, was sent home, who now wanting his Competitor, so triumphed, and took so many advantages over the Earl of *Murray's* Land, as gave him just occasion of complaint, but meeting with no redress to his grievance,

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he retired from Court, and grew so discontented, that he fell in with the designs of the Earl of *Bothwell*, who was still a hatching of mischief.

Huntley came no sooner to know that his Adversary was an Outlaw with the Earl of *Bothwell*, but he returned again to Court, with a design to gain some further advantage over him; but the Lord *Ochiltree*, with the King's consent, endeavoured to accommodate Matters between them, and make them Friends; and so *Murray* was brought to a place called *Dunibirsil*, as being near at hand, for the better effectuating of an agreement; *Huntley* hearing of his arrival applies himself to the King for a Commission to pursue the Earl of *Bothwell*, and all his Adherents with Fire and Sword, which the King grants him, and being armed with this Power, the first thing he does, was to Murder the Earl of *Murray* his Adversary, at the foresaid place, which it seems was his own House; this horrid Fact was generally regretted, and the granting of such a Commission, was justly interpreted to be a breach of Faith in the King, and himself to be charged with being Author of the said Murder; but none resented it so highly as the Lord *Ochiltree*, who took such delight that his Friend should be slain, during a time of Treaty, that he solemnly Declared he took part with the Earl of *Bothwell*, and divers others in revenge of

his Quarrel, encouraging the said Earl to assassinate the King within his Palace of *Falkland*, having several at Court, familiar enough with the King, who guided him at pleasure, to favour the said Conspiracy; but things could not be carried with that Secrecy, but that some about him got intelligence of the Design, and advised him for his own safety to pass over to *Coupar*, and with all expedition to Assemble the Barons of *Fife* for his own safety; but such as had contrived his Ruin, perswaded him to stay, alledging that the Earl of *Louthian* would not come from *Louthian* till such a day, tho' he kept to his time, and came to *Falkland* two days sooner, according to appointment; and this they did with a design to have surprized the King before he could either have entred within the Tower of *Falkland*, or making any tolerable Provision for his own Defence, and because they knew Sir *James Melvill* and his Brother Sir *Robert*, might be some obstruction to the Design, they advised the King to send them home to their Houses the very same night, that they understood the Earl of *Bathwell* purposed to be there; but before the Brothers departed, they advised the King to ride quietly to *Bumbrigh*, that from thence he might when he pleased take Boat and go over to *Angus*, where he would have leisure to Assemble Forces out of *Perth* and *Dundee* with the adjacent Countreys, but
this

this advice was also rejected; Sir Robert upon the Road homewards had notice given him by one of *Bothwell's* gang, that he was already got as far as *Fife*, and would be in *Falkland* about Supper time, who forthwith dispatched his Gentleman, whose Name was *Robert Anfleck* to acquaint his Majesty therewith, and to desire him to go into the *Tower* with all expedition; but they called him Fool, and laughed him to scorn for his pains, and so he left them in great discontent, but upon his return he met *Bothwell* and his followers upon the height of *Lammonds*, it being by this time dark night, and so struck in with them, as if he had been one of the gang, and used great diligence to get first to the King, shutting the Court Gate after him; upon his entrance he urged the King to get into the *Tower* with utmost expedition, which at length he did, and so for this time escaped also; for the *Bothwell* came well provided of all things for forcing the Palace, where he thought to surprize the King, and tho' it was alledged some shot Paper only out of the Culverins in the *Tower* upon *Bothwell's* Men, yet others shot Bullets, which together with the fear he was in lest the Country might come, caused him to retire and flee, none pursuing them.

The Assassination failing, this terminated in open Rebellion. *Bothwell* associating himself

himself with the Popish Lords, the more to strengthen his Party, who for a time prevailed, but at last were necessitated to go beyond Sea, and *Bothwell* several years after died at *Naples*; but no sooner was one fear over, but comes on another, but of a different nature: the King, (you have heard before,) plaid the Knight-Errant, rather than be without a Wife, who was *Anne*, Sister to the King of *Denmark*, a Lady that bears a fair Character in the Annals of Time, tho' I find one say of her, that she was a Person he heard little of saving that Character; which *Salust* gives *Sempronia*, that she could *Saltare elegantius quam necesse est proba*. See had about two years before bore him a Son, Prince *Henry*, to whom the King assigned the Earl of *Marr* Governor; now the Queen, 'tis not known upon what design, nor well by whose agency and Promotion, laid a project in the King's absence, to surprize the Prince and take him out of the Earl's hands; but the King's suddain arrival from *Faulkland* to *Edenburgh*, and taking the Queen away along with him to *Sterlin*, rendred the Project abortive; Howver it were, the very projection put King *James* into no small Bodily fear, as appears by the following Letter he writ to the Earl of *Marr* upon that occasion, which is recited by *Saunderson* in his *Life of King James*.

My

My Lord of Mar,

BEcause in the security of my Son, mine is
 Conferred, and my Concredit of his
 Charge to you, upon Trust of your Honour and
 Honesty; This I Command, (as singly and
 solely of my self, being in Company of those I
 like not) that upon any Charge or Necessity
 that possibly come from me, you shall not deliver
 him; and in case that God call me at any
 time, see you that neither for the Queen, nor
 for the Estates Pleasure, you deliver him out
 of your hands, till he be 18 years of Age,
 and that then he Command you himself,

James Rex

This Court juggle and jealousy was
 followed by a more dangerous one from the
 Presbytery, who met at *Edinburg* to treat
 of their Ecclesiastical Affairs, and some o-
 ther matters that came under their Consi-
 deration; but the Kings Sentiments and
 theirs were as remote as East and West,
 which produced such Heats and Factions,
 that the King dissolves the Convention,
 they stand still to it, and meet for all that,
 several Lords espouse their Cause; at last
 the King truckles, and was willing to come
 to an Accommodation; but to shew the
 Image of Authority first, asked, Who they
 were that durst Convene against his Pro-
 clamations? but his Mouth was quickly
 stop-

stopped by the Lord *Lindsay's* reply, saying, That they durst do more than so, and would not endure Destruction of Religion, and by the Nobles crying out, *Arm*; others, *Bring forth Haman*, and some the *Sword of the Lord and of Gideon*; it made the King and his Council flee from *Edenburg* to *Lindbgo*, but fury by degrees began to cool, and some Concessions of all sides introduced a little Tranquillity in the State, and some Remissions of the Kings Fears; but the Revolution of about two years, ushered in that memorable Conspiracy of the Earl of *Gowry*, which because not foreign from the scope of the present Treatise, and by reason of the Barbarity and Tragical circumstances thereof, as well as it has been the subject of the discourse of many, but hardly a Man to be met with that can give the true state of it, I shall endeavour to oblige the Reader with a distinct and impartial Narrative of the same, even according to what the Court Party and King's Favourites have related concerning it.

Sanderson, in his *Life and Death of King James*, says, the Surname of the Earls of *Gowry* was *Ruthven*, and a Family of small account till *Anno 1568*. when the chief of them, among other Confederates, endeavoured to imprison *Mary Queen of Scots*; that his Son *William* was Created Earl of *Gowry* in King *James's* Minority, and two years after fell into actual Rebellion at *Dundee*,

Dundee, for which he was Beheaded at *Sterlin* in 1584. but Sir *James Melvill*, who had as good an opportunity to know this Affair as any man, says, The Earl of *Gowry* was related to the King in high Favour, and by the villanous Contrivance of a Court Faction, cut off for little or no fault, and seems to censure his hard Fate, and not to excuse the King himself in his proceedings against him. The Earl's Eldest Son, named *John*, was not long after restored in Blood, and had leave to Travel; and *Sanderson* said, he had a Manuscript, containing, that the Earl at *Padua*, caused an Hand and Sword, aiming at a Crown, to be used for his Device; and that the Earl of *Argyle* acquainted King *James*, that he found a Prophecie at an House in *Orleans* in *France*, where the Earl of *Gowry* had had Lodgings, that he should with too much love, fall into Melancholly, have great Power and Rule, and Die by the Sword: After his return, that he carried himself very Haughtily, and being too big for Court observance, retired to his Family, leaving his Brother *Alexander*, who was made Gentleman of the King's Bed Chamber, to play the Courtier, and Cloak the Design; and thus, according to *Sanderson's* Relation was the Conspiracy formed; The Earl sent his Brother *Alexander* from *St. Johnston*, where he lived, to the King at *Faulkland*, to entice him to come thither with as much Privacy as could be, and

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commands one of his Servants, *Andrew Henderson* by Name, to go with his Brother and one *Andrew Ruthven* to the Court, which they in the morning did, being the 5th of *August* 1600: and as the King was putting his Foot into the Stirrup to go a Hunting, *Alexander* informed him, that he had apprehended one lately come from beyond Seas with much Gold about him, and several suspicious Letters to some Popish Lords, advising his Majesty to receive the Money and the Letters, and to examine the Person, who was in safe Custody at his Brother the Earl's House, but ten miles off, and this with as much speed and privacy as could be; to which the King assents, and that he would go at Noon, while his Attendants were at Dinner; *Alexander* hereupon dispatched *Henderson* to give the Earl notice that the King would be there about Noon, and that the Business took so well with him, that he had clipt him about the Neck, that he had but a slender Retinue, as the Duke of *Lennox*, Sir *Thomas Erskin*, and about a Dozen more: Well said the Earl, *Get on your Plate Sleeves, for I must take an Higbland Robber*: The King staying at his sport of Hunting somewhat longer than was expected, the Earl had half Dined, when *Andrew Ruthven* aforesaid came in haste, and acquainted him, the King was hard by, and presently after came in *Alexander* and *Bloire*, who withdrew, to consult, and sent *Henderson* for the Earls Gauntlet

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Gauntlet and Steel Bonnet; the King quickly followed, and was received by the Earl, who conducted him into Dinner. In the mean time, *Alexander* bids *Henderson* fetch the Keys of the Chambers from one *Rynd*, and presently after one *Crawston* calls *Henderson* to come to the Earl, who commanded him to do whatever his Brother *Alexander* should bid him, which was to be locked up in the round Chamber, and to stay there silently till his return: When the Dinner was near over, and the King eating some Fruit, and the Lords and other Attendants gone to eat, *Alexander* begs of him to make use of that opportunity, and withdraw to dispatch the Business, and up he leads him through four or five Rooms, locking every Door as he passed behind him, until they came to the round Chamber, where *Henderson* stood armed: They were no sooner entred, but *Alexander* pulls out *Henderson's* Dagger, held it to the King's Breast, and said with a stern Countenance, Now, Sir, *you must know I had a Father, whose Blood calls for Revenge, and you must Die*, (surely if this had been true, the very fright must have killed King *James*) but to proceed, the King seeing his danger, deals gently with his fury, excuses himself from the guilt of his Dearth, by his then Infancy, advising him not to lay violent hands on the Sacred Person of his Sovereign, pleading the Laws of God and Man, and his Merits in Restoring his Brother to his
Estate

Estate and Honours, by Breeding his Sister the nearest in the Queen's Affections, and by his Reception of himself, to be of his Bed-Chamber, and withall, promising Pardon for all that was past ; which so wrought upon *Alexander* for the present, that he left the King in *Henderson's* Custody, untill he returned back from his Brother, having first taken an Oath of the King not to stir nor cry out, and so locks them both in ; *Alexander* being gone, *Henderson* in the mean time relented, and swore he would not kill him ; but presently *Alexander* returns with a String in his Hand, and said, *Sir, There is no Remedy, By God you must Die*, and so strives to Bind him ; *Nay*, says the King, *I was Born free, and will not be Bound*, and so struggling together, *Alexander* got the King's Head under his Arm, and clapped his Hand upon his Mouth, which the King bit by the Thumb, and dragging him to the Window, bad *Henderson* open it ; where the King cryed out to the back Court, *Treason*, where the Duke of *Lennox*, Earl of *Mar*, and others, were in pursuit of him, it having been given out that he was gone the back way into the Park.

As soon as they knew it was the King, they ran to the Chamber where he Dined, but could find no entrance : In the mean time, *John Ramsey*, Groom of the Bed-Chamber, and *Sir Thomas Erskin*, endeavoured to get up by the Turn-Pike back-stairs, being directed thither by a Boy of

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the House, who saw *Alexander* ascend that way, and forcing one Door open, found them panting, *Ramsay* immediately draws his Fauchion, and run *Alexander* in the Belly, (being bid to strike low, for the King found him armed with a Coat of Mail) and so with the assistance of Sir *Thomas Erskin*, Doctor *Herres*, and one *Wilson*, quickly dispatched him, whilst *Henderson* slipped out of the way; but the danger was not yet over, for perceiving by the noise of unlocking the Doors, that the Earl himself was coming to assault them, they advised the King to withdraw into the Lobby, but first cast the King's Coat over the Dead Body; which was no sooner done, but the Earl enters by his double Keys, attended with seven of his Servants, the foreway, and his Case of Rapiers, and his usual Arms ready drawn, to whom *Erskin*, to divert him from his purpose) earnestly said, *What do you mean, my Lord, the King is killed*, and points to his Brothers covered Body bleeding on the Floor; at which *Gowry* stoops, dropping the points of his Weapons, when suddenly *Herres* assaulted him with his Sword, and being seconded by *Ramsay*, struck him to the Heart, yet not so readily, but that the Earl thrust him into the Thigh, assisted by *Cranston*, who wounded *Erskin* and *Herres* in the Hand, and they him through the Body, and lived only long enough to be hanged and quartered: Then came in the Lords and the

of the STUARTS.

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the rest of the Company, and after having surveyed the Earl's Body, they found it did not Bleed, till a Parchment was taken out of his Bosom, with Characters in it, and these Letters, which put together, made *Tetragrammaton*, having been told, as the Story went, his Blood should not be spilt as long as he had that spell: This is the substance of the Conspiracy.

I will not descant upon the many Absurdities and incoherent Circumstances couched under this Relation, but will leave it to the Readers Censure, and tell you only that most Authors that have mentioned it, seem to turn the Tables to lay the Assassination at the King's door, and one I find, (Sir J. H.) saying, he Blasphemed God for his pretended Deliverance once a year all his life after; but Mr. *Wilson* is a little more modest, who expresses himself hereupon to this purpose: *This year, August 5. (being the first of the King's Reign in England) had a new Title given to it, the King's Delivery in the North must resound here, whether the Gowries attempted upon the King's Person, or the King upon theirs is variously reported; It may be he retained something of his Predecessor, and great Parent, Henry VII. that made Religion give way to Policy, oftentimes Cursing and Thundring out the Churches Fulminations against his own Ministers, that they might be received with the more intimate Familiarity with his Foreign Enemies for the better discovery of their Designs; I will not say the Celebration*

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of this Holy-Day had so much Profaneness, for Fame may be a Slanderer, but where there is a strength of Policy, there is always a power of wordly Wisdom that manages and sways it.

James Stuart I.
began his Reign
over Great-
Britain,
Mar. 24. 1602.

Now we are to transplant the Scene into the Southern part of the British Isle, for our bright Occidental Star, Queen Elizabeth, of famous Memory, having for the space of above forty four years, shined in our British Horizon, and darted out the Rays of her Renown to the remotest parts of the habitable Globe, and now exchanged an Earthly for an Heavenly Diadem, King James succeeded her in all her Dominions; who being both a Protestant and a Pacifick King, diverted the Fears of the English, and made some Allay of Grief in their Hearts, for the loss of their Nursing Mother and Sovereign Lady, who, though she were glorious and happy, almost in all her Affairs, during the course of her long Reign, yet she may be truly said to have been much more celebrated after her Death; for the Vices of others, and Male-Administration of this, and the succeeding Reigns, erected a more lasting Monument of Renown, and contributed a more indelible lustre to her Fame, than any of the worthiest Atchievements of her Life, so that it may be as truly said of her, as it was of old, by Suetonius, concerning that brave Roman, Germanicus, *Auxit gloriam desideriumque defunde*

functæ insequentium temporum atrocitas. Here for a time we are to expect nothing but Shows, Pageants, Creations of Honours, (of which King *James* was never no niggard) and all manner of Jollity; but the advancement of some so far disgusted others, who thought themselves neglected, that it produced him a Conspiracy, as the Authors of that Age know not what to make off; it was apparent the muddy Waters were stirred, but it was with such a mixture, that little could be visible in it; For Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, the Lords *Cobham* and *Grey*, were Protestants, *Markham*, *Baynam*, and the two Priests, were Popish: the Charge was, that they had endeavoured all in Conjunction to introduce Popery, to seize the King and Prince, and to set the Crown upon the Head of the Lady *Arabella Steward*, younger Brother to *Henry Lord Darnley*, both Sons to *Matthew Earl of Lennox*, by his Wife *Margaret*, Daughter by the Earl of *Angus* to *Margaret* the Mother of *James V.* and Daughter of *Henry VII.* But this was a sorry foundation to go upon, and so the superstructure thus huddled together, could not last long; wherefore the execution of some, and Imprisonment of the rest, quickly dissipated this Cloud, and all was Serene again, and Halcyon days: But here give me leave to say somewhat, as well in Vindication of the Memory of that true Englishman, and Noble Gentleman, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who was Con-

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demned for this Conspiracy, and Beheaded many years after, (when he had been General by the King's Commission, and had by that, Power over the Lives of many others, contrary to the Civil Law, which says, *He that hath Power over the Lives of others, ought to be Master of his own*;) as to shew the perversion of Justice in that Reign, and the poorness of the King's Spirit to be gull'd at that rate by his Ministers, in this, as well as other Particulars: Sir *Walter* was Tryed at *Winchester*, and made a brave Defence; All the material Evidence brought against him, was, the Lord *Cobham's* Accusation, which he only desired might appear, (*viva voce*) and he would yield without any further Defence; but that would not be granted, for they knew full well, *Cobham* would not, or could not accuse him; you must know, *Wade*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and a great Creature of the Earl of *Salisbury's*, had tampered with *Cobham* about the aforesaid Accusation of *Rawleigh*, knowing *Cobham's* weakness, but that would not do, and therefore he circumvented him one day, by getting of him to set his Name in a blank piece of Paper, and so filled up the Accusation himself; *Salisbury*, *Rawleigh's* great Enemy, being thus armed against him, urged Sir *Walter* several times to yield upon the producing of his Accusation under *Cobham's* own Hand; Sir *Walter* answered, he knew *Cobham's* weak Judgment, and did

not

not know how far he might be imposed upon, but was confident he would not accuse him to his Face, and therefore would not put his Life upon that hazard; and thus the Trial held till nine at night; at last, his Fate carried him against his Reason, and he yielded upon the producing his Hand, which was immediately done, (and it was in truth his Hand) but none of his Act. It happened some years after this, that Queen *Anne* fell into a desperate and 'twas believed, incurable fit of Sickness, and when the Skill of all her Physicians had failed, Sir *Walter*, by his long Studies, having arrived to an admirable Perfection in Chymistry, was sent to, who undertook and performed the Cure, for which he would receive no other Reward, but that her Majesty would procure certain Lords to be sent to *Cobham*, to examine him, Whether he had accused Sir *Walter Rawleigh* of Treason at any time under his Hand. The King, at the Queen's Request, as in Justice he could do no less, sent six Lords; viz. the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Worcester*, *Suffolk*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Julius Caesar*, to Interrogate with *Cobham* upon the said Head; *Cobham* protested he never did nor could accuse Sir *Walter*, but said, That Villain *Wade*, after a long Sollicitation so to do, but not prevailing, got him by a trick to write his Name upon a piece of Paper, which he dreaming of no harm, did, so

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that if any Charge came under his Hand, it must have been forged by *Wade*, by Writing something above his Name, without his Consent or Privy; The Lords returning to the King, made *Salisbury* their Spokesman, who elusively said, *Sir, My Lord Cobham hath made good all that ever he said*; and so the matter rested, *Sir Walter* being no ways relieved hereby, but the King further possessed with his guilt; but surely the baseness of those Lords, and the King's credulity, were unpardonable Crimes.

Soon after this Hodge-podge of a Plot, the King and Queen were Crowned in great Pomp at *Westminster*; And the same year a Conference was managed at *Hampton-Court*, between the Prelatical and Puritan Party, the latter conceiving great hopes, that because of the King's Education in the *Scots* Discipline, he would be of their side, but they mistook quite their mark, for he was by that time become Heart and Soul Episcopal, and to give evident Demonstration of his entire Conversion, issues out a Proclamation, (of which no Prince was ever so prodigal, and which at last, as naturally happens, were as little regarded) for Uniformity in Religion according to Law Established; then at length comes a Parliament, between whom and the King, notwithstanding some mutual Caresses for a time, arose several Jars and Jealousies, but the discovery of the Gun-
Powder

Powder Treason attributed to the King's Wisdom and Foresight, seemed for a time to heal all the Breaches ; which hellish Contrivance against the King and Kingdom, will fall pertinently enough to be noted in this place. The Popish Party finding their Petition for a Toleration of Religion rejected, grew enraged thereat, and now nothing would serve but the Destruction of King, Prince, and the Representative Body of the whole Nation in Parliament ; and to that end they hid 36 Barrels of Gun-Powder under the Parliament House ; the principal Contriver whereof was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of a plentiful Estate, who made choice of *Thomas Piercy*, *Winter Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, (I am told, the Ancestor of the late *Ambrose Rookwood* executed for Conspiring the Death of our Renowned Sovereign King *William*) *Wright*, *Tresham*, *Sir Everard Digby*, and others, who are all bound to Secresie by those Sacraments which are the greatest Ties upon the Soul, and *St. Garnet*, the Jesuit, was their Confessor : *Piercy* was to hire the Cellars under the Parliament House, to lay Wood and Coals in for his Winters Store, and *Guido Faux*, a desperate Russian, (who was to give Fire to the Train) was appointed to be his Man to bring in Wood and Coals ; The Gun-Powder bought in *Flanders*, was brought in the Night from
Lam-

beth, and covertly laid under the Wood, and every thing made ready against the 7th of *February*, whereon the Parliament was to meet; but the Parliament being providentially Prorogued to the 5th of *November* following, this dispersed the Conspirators for the present, and made them almost at their Wits end; but reassuming again their former Courage, they resolve to carry on their Villany, and to bear up with Patience till the day came; They were sure the King and Prince must perish with the blow, as for the Duke of *Tork*, *Piercy* undertook to dispatch him, but the Lady *Elizabeth* they resolved to save, that under her Minority and Innocency, they might the better establish their Bloody Principles of Piety and policy, and to that end they appointed a great Hunting Match to be at *Dunsmore-Heath* in *Warwickshire*, to be nearer the Lord *Huntings*'s House, where the Lady *Elizabeth* then was on the 5th of *November* aforesaid; Thus Solacing themselves in this Bloody Expectation, and thinking all Cock-sure, one tender-hearted Murderer among the rest, writ a Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*, wishing him to have a care of himself, and to forbear his Attendance at that Parliament, for God and Man had concurred to punish the Wickedness of the time, and they should receive a terrible blow, and yet not see who hurt them; The Lord

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Monteagle thinking there might be something in the Letter of dangerous Consequence, though he understood it not, carried the same to the Earl of *Salisbury*, who also could not tell what to make of it; but upon the King's coming to *Whitehall* from *Royston*, where he had been Hunting of a Hare, he shewed him the Letter, who being naturally of a fearful Temper, and suspicious Mind, ordered the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord *Monteagle*, to make a search about the Parliament House, who entering into the Cellar, and observing the Stores as aforesaid, enquired of the Wardrobe Keeper, Mr. *Winyard*, (who was also House-keeper) whose they were; *Winyard* replied, he had let the Cellar to one *Thomas Percy*, and close in a Corner there stood *Faux*, who being asked, who he was, said, *Percy's Servant*: The Lords for the present left all things as they found them, but departed full of Suspicion; the Lord *Monteagle* assuring himself, the forementioned Letter must come from *Percy*, for there were some little intimacy between them; and gave the King and Council a Relation of their Proceedings, who resolved that night to make a further search, and committed it to the management of Sir *Thomas Knevett*, a Gentleman of approved Fidelity, and who with a suitable Assistance, coming to the Cellar about midnight, met *Faux* at the Door, on whom

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whom he presently seized, and proceeding in his search, pulled out the Core of all that Horrid Contrivance; whereupon *Faux* confessed all, being only sorry it came not to perfection, and saying, *God would have concealed it, and the Devil only discovered it*: In his Pockets they found a Watch, (which were not common then) and a Tinder-Box, Engines to minute out his time to strike the fatal blow: The Conspirators finding all detected, hastened for all that to the Hunting Match aforesaid, furnishing themselves with Horses by breaking open several Stables, and taking their choice, but the Sherriffs of *Warwickshire* and *Worcestershire* pursued them so hard, that at last they were forced to earth themselves at *Littleton's Houle* at *Halbech*, where *Percy* and *Catesby* were slain with a few more, and the rest taken Prisoners, and afterwards Hanged; This happy Deliverance was Celebrated with great Joy, and Foreign Princes, though Popish, would Congratulate the Discovery; and the Parliament made an Act for the perpetual Solemnizing of the day of Deliverance with publick Thanksgivings: So things continued for a time, and the King of *Denmark*, the Queen's Brother, coming over to visit the King and his Sister, the Summer following added a greater gust to the Recreations and Pastimes of the Court, now wallowing in

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all sensual Pleasures, as if the Devil was quite laid, and ne'er more Storms to be feared from any Quarter; but the Parliaments stiffness to supply their Court Extravagancies in time of Peace; and rejection of the King's much desired proposal to unite both Nations by a Naturalization of the *Scots*, without they would come under the English Laws and Government, was some allay to his Delights; At last, an accident broke out, which wrought in him no small disquiet, as you have already heard, while King *James* was only King of *Scotland*, that he was entirely at his Favourites Devotion, which as has been related had many Tragical Effects; you must know, he was become no changling now he was King of *England*; and among others, one *Robert Carr*, a young Man, of no fortune in the World, and who it seems had been formerly one of his Pages in *Scotland*, coming to Court in a good Garb, and being a comely Person, was taken notice of by the King, and in a short time was Knighted by him, made Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, Viscount *Rocheſter*, and at length Earl of *Sammerſet*, and over-topped all the rest of his Favourites abundantly, even to Cope with the Prince himself, who disdain- ing to be thus bearded by an upstart of yesterday, would not afford him a good

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look, nor speak to him; and some said, that some love Jealousies, the Prince being now in his Puberty, encreased the Emulation between Carr and him. The Countess of Essex, then a top Gallant Lady in the Bloom of her years, and disdaining the Company of the Noble Earl her Husband, being the Bane of Contention between them; but be this as it will, the Countess was enamoured on the Favourite, and cast her Love-Anchor there; but I should think the Prince above all these Thoughts, by the following passage; for being on a time Dancing among the Ladies, and the Countesses Glove falling down, it was taken up and presented to him, by one that thought he did him acceptable Service, but the Prince refused to receive it, saying publicly, *He would not have it, it was streatched by another*, meaning Carr, then Viscount Rochester.

But things could not continue long in this State, for as the Court were full of Rejoycings upon the Palsgrave's arrival in England to Marry the Lady Elizabeth; there was a damp struck upon the Hearts of all true Englishmen upon the suddain immature and I doubt, violent death of the Noble Prince Henry in the flower of his years; Sir A. W. says, his death had been foretold by one Bruce a famous Scotch Astrologer, for the which the Earl of Salisbury caused him to be banished, who left this farewell with the

the Earl; *That it should be too true, but that his Lordship should not live to see it*; The Earl dying in *Day*, and the Prince in *November* following, to the infinite grief of all but *Sommerfet*, and the Family of the *Howards*, who by his death thought themselves secured from all future dangers; for he being an open Prince, and hating all baseness, would often say, *He would not leave one of that Family to piss against a Wall*. I do not know why *Sir Anthony* might not have put the King himself into the foresaid number; I am sure he shewed but small symptoms of Sorrow at his death, which happened (as was said) but then in *November*, by his commanding no Man should appear at Court in Mourning in the Christmash Holidays following, the Jollity, Feasting, and Magnificence whereof must not be laid aside upon any account whatsoever; it is certain that the Princes Court was frequented more than the King's. and by another sort of Men; so that the King, upon seeing of him once at a distance in the *Park*, with a far more numerous Train than himself, was heard to say, *What will he bury me alive*. jealousy is like a fire that burns all before it, and that fire is hot enough to dissolve all Bonds that tend to the diminution of a Crown; *Don Carlos*, Prince of *Spain*, and *Henry's* Contemporary, not long before this, for wishing himself but one day in his Father's Throne, fell soon after into the hard hand

hand of an immature fate; However, it were the manner of the Prince's death was variously rumour'd, some saying he was poison'd with a bunch of Grapes, others with the venomous scent of a pair of Gloves presented to him; and some again, that a French Physician gave him poison; and it was observed, that poison was never more in fashion than at this time; but surely there was something black enough in it; for when Sir *Thomas Monson*, a long time after, who was one of the Countess of *Essex's* Agents in the poisoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury* had past one days Trial at *Guildhall*, the Lord Chief Justice *Coke* vented some expressions, as if he could discover more than the death of a private Person, saying, *God knows what is become of that sweet Babe Prince Henry, but I know somewhat*; and blessing himself at the horror of such villanies as came to his knowledge; and 'twas believed, that in searching the Cabinets, he had lighted on some Papers that spake plain in that which was ever whisper'd; and what strongly increased the suspicion was, that *Monson's* Trial was laid aside, he quickly set at liberty, and the Chief Justices wings clipt for ever after. And no less jealousy did something relating to the Earl of *Somerset's* Trial for the said Murder of *Overbury*, create in Men's Minds about this matter; for when the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, according to Custom,

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gave *Somerſet* notice of his Trial next day, he abſolutely reſuſed it, ſaying, *They ſhould carry him in his Bed, that the King had aſſured him, he ſhould not come to any Trial, neither durſt the King bring him to any*; this was an high ſtrain, and a Language not underſtood by *Sir George Moor* the Lieutenant, and tho' otherwiſe eſteemed a wiſe Man, it reduced him to his Wits end; After ſome pauses, he at laſt reſolves to go to the King, then at *Greenwich*, as late as it was, being Twelve a Clock at night; he bounced at the Back Stairs, as if he had been mad; to whom *Jo. Leveſton*, one of the Grooms came out of his Bed, and enquired the reaſon of that unreaſonable diſtemper; *Moor* tells him he muſt ſpeak with the King immediately, *Leveſton* answered, *He was quieted*; meaning in his Scottiſh Dialect, *He was faſt aſleep*, but *Moor* ſaid he muſt awake him, and ſo was called in and left alone with the King in his Bed-chamber, where he tells him thoſe paſſages that happened between *Sommerſet* and himſelf, and deſired to be directed by the King what he ſhould do; for he was gone beyond his Reaſon to hear ſuch bold and undutiſul Expreſſions from a faulty Subject againſt a Juſt Sovereign; Hereupon the King falls into a fit of Tears, and ſaid, *On my Soul, Moor, I wot not what to do, thou art a Wiſe Man, help me in this great ſtreight, and thou ſhalt*
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find thou dost it for a faithful Master ; with other sad Expressions to the same purpose ; Moor leaves the King in that Agony, but first assured him, he would strain his Wits to the utmost for to serve his Majesty, and was really rewarded with a Suit worth 1500 Pounds, tho' he was cheated of one half by a true Scot that pretended great friendship to him ; he returned to *Sommerfet* about Three next Morning, which was the day he was to come to his Trial, and told him, he had been with the King ; found him a most Affectionate Master, and full of Grace in his intentions towards him ; but said for to satisfy Justice the Earl must appear, tho' to return again instantly, without any further proceedings against him ; and that thereby he should come to know his Enemies, and their Malice, tho' they should have no power to hurt him ; with this device he allaid the Earl's Fury, and got him quietly about Eight in the Morning to the Hall ; yet fearing his former bold Language might revert him again, and that finding himself thus brought within the Toye by this trick, he might be more enraged to fly into some strange discovery ; he took care to place two Servants on each side of him ; every one having a Cloak on their Arms, and gave them a positive Command, If *Sommerfet* did any way fly out against the King, that they should immediately Hood-

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wink him with the Cloak, take him by force from the Bar and carry him away, for which he would not only secure them from any danger, but they should be sure of a bountiful Reward ; but the Earl finding himself over-reached ; recollected a better temper and went on calmly in his Tryal, where he held the Court till Seven at night ; but he that had seen the King's restless motion, and concernedness of Mind all that day, by his sending to every Boat he saw landing at the Bridge, and cursing all that came without tidings, would have easily judged, all was not right, and that there were very good grounds for *Sammer-set's* boldness ; but at last having word brought him that he was condemned, with the particulars of the Trial, all was quiet. You may judge of the Story as you please, but my Author Sir *A. W.* says, he and another Gentleman had it from Sir *George Moor's* own Mouth in *Wanstead Park* ; and 'tis very remarkable, that tho' the King made the most direful imprecations that could be to Sir *Edward Coke* at *Theobalds*, upon the discovery of *Overbury's* Murder, he would pardon any thing of them, yet he gave both the Earl and Countess (as deep in the fudds as any) a Lease of their Lives, allowed the Earl 4000 *l. per Annum*, and kept correspondence with him by Letters, almost every week to his dying day. I shall

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not enter upon any further narration of *Overbury's* death, of the Countess of *Essex* Divorce, and her Marriage with *Sommerfet*, how the Discovery was made, how the King was made a Pimp (as he told Sir *Edward Coke*) to carry on their Bawdry and Murder, as being not pertinent to the present Design; but acquaint you that the Lady *Arabella Steward* (whose Genealogy we have already given you) dying about this time in the *Tower*, sets Mens Tongues and Fears at work that she went the same way; she had been Married some years before to Sir *William Seymour*, Son to the Lord *Beauchamp*, and Grandchild to *Edward Earl of Hertford*, and both of them being at some distance allyed to the Crown, such a conjunction would not be admitted in the Royal Almanack, so dreadful is every Apparition that comes near Princes Titles, especially if they light upon jealous and weak Minds. Sir *William* was for the Marriage committed to the *Tower*, and the Lady *Arabella* confined to her House at *Highbury*; but both of them after some imprisonment, concluded to make their escape together beyond Sea, appointing to meet at a certain place upon the *Thames*: Sir *William* leaving his Man in his Bed to act his part with his Keeper, got out of the *Tower* in disguise, and came to the place appointed; she dress'd like a young Gallant

lant in Man's Cloaths, followed him from her House, but staying somewhat longer than the limited time, it made him suspicious of her interception, so that he went away, leaving notice if she came, that he was gone away before for *Dunkirke*; the poor Lady thus desolate, fraught with Fears, and lugging in her flight was apprehended, and sent in her Husband's room into the *Tower*, where she ended her sorrowful days, somewhat too early, as was generally believed, tho' no clear proof thereof could e'r be made; it's certain the King was very jealous of his Title to the Crown, which at times made him very uneasy, tho' besides actual possession, he had apparently the best of any Title in the World, and the free Speeches of his Subjects upon that head, did not a little contribute to that uneasiness, as was that of *Tobie Matthews* Bishop of *Durham*, who being at Law with the King about some Priviledges, which he claimed in his Bishoprick; and having one day stated the case before some of his Friends, and they seeming to approve of it, *Yes*, says the Bishop, *I could wish he had but half as good a Title to the Crown.* But one *Hydra's* Head is no sooner cut off, but up starts another; one of the Judges for *Wales* being about this time holding the general Assizes at *Pembroke*, there was a-

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mong other Malefactors brought to the Bar to be Tryed for Murder, one whose Name was *Plantagenet*, a Name that for some hundreds of years had swayed the English Scepter, from the time of *Henry II.* down to *Henry VII.* the Judge hearing of the Name, deferred the Man's Tryal, and sends to acquaint the King with it, who upon the news, was in no small tiff, but dispatcht away Orders immediately to bring the Man up: when he was brought into his Presence, *Consis*, said he, *How do you do?* the poor Man in a trembling amazement, made no ready Answer; but at length recollecting his Spirits, replied, *He knew of no Relation he was to his Majesty; nay, but,* said the King, *If thy Name be Plantagenet, thou must be my Cousin;* and so entring into another Communion with him, engaged him, for a considerable Reward, to change his Name into that of *Steward*, from whom, as I have been credibly informed, the Family of the *Stewards*, late of the County of *H.* but now extinct, were descended.

It was now the Fifteenth year of the King's Reign, when he goes to visit his Native Country of *Scotland*, accompanied with *Buchingham*, now prime Favourite; but upon his return, some of the looser Bishops, pretending Recreations and Liberty to Servants, and the common People (of which they craved to themselves too much already

already) procured the King to put out a Book to permit Dancing about Maypoles, Churchyards, and such debauched exercises upon the Lords Day, after Evening Prayer, wherein all Ministers were enjoined to read it to their Parishioners, and those that refused, were brought into the High Commission, which was Plague sufficient; but this brought him some disquiet, and particularly one time the King being to go from *London* to *Theobalds* on a Monday Morning, his Carriages must go through the City on the Sabbath-day before, with a great deal of clutter and noise in the time of Divine Worship, which coming to the Ears of the Lord Mayor, he commanded them to be stopped, and this carried the Affairs of the Carriages with a great deal of violence into the Court, and having represented the business to the King, with as much asperity as Men in Authority, crossed in their Humors, could express the same; it put the King into a great Rage, Swearing, *He thought there was no more Kings in England but himself*; but after he was a little calmed, he sent a Warrant to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to let them pass, which he obeyed, with this Answer, *While it was in my power, I did my Duty, but that being taken away by a higher Power, It's my Duty to obey*; which the King upon se-

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cond Thoughts took so well, that he thank-
ed him for it. And now the Troubles of
his Daughter and Son-in-law, by assuming
the Crown of *Bohemia*, come on apace;
which ended, not only in the loss of that
Crown, but even of his own Patrimony the
Palatinate; and together, with the Match
with *Spain* for his Son Prince *Charles* per-
plex'd the remainder of his Reign, and
wrought him continual trouble, having spent
more Treasure upon Embassies; when the
former then would have rais'd and main-
tain'd a sufficient Army to recover his Son-
in-law's Patrimony, owning in his Speech
to the Parliament, *Jan. 20.* and the Eigh-
teenth year of his Reign; that my Lord
Doncaster's Journey upon that account had
cost him Three thousand five hundred
Pounds: but he was very modest, and min-
ced the matter, being indeed ashamed to
tell the whole Summ, which amounted to a
far greater proportion, and may be guess'd
at by the following Relation: When he
Landed at *Rotterdam*, his Expences the first
Morning before he went to the *Hague*, in
the Inn where he lay, came to above Two
hundred Pounds; now this splendid and
expensive Living coming to be known by
the Inn keeper of the *Peacock* at *Dort*, &c.
(hoping he would make that place in his
way to *Germany*) made great preparations
for him of his own head, without any other

Order;

Order ; but my Lord taking his way by *Utrecht*, the Inn-keeper followed him, complaining heavily, how he was baulked in his expectations, and what Charge he had been at to provide for his Lordship ; which at length coming to the Lord's Ear, he commanded his Steward to give him Thirty Pounds, and never tasted of his Fare ; and it was credibly assured by some of his Retinue, that his very Carriage could cost no less than Threescore Pounds a day, for he had abundance of young Nobles and others in his company, so that upon a modest computation of the whole expence of his Journey, it could amount to no less than Fifty or Threescore thousand Pounds ; while he was at the *Hague*, some advised old *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, our King *William's* Great Uncle to Feast him ; *Yes,, Yes*, said the Prince, *Bid him come* ; when the Steward had notice hereof, how the Prince took no farther notice of the matter, he attended the Prince, and told him, there would be great preparations expected, for the Ambassadors Ordinary Meals were Feasts, and he had a very numerous and splendid Train of Nobles and Gentry, that did accompany him ; *Well*, said the Prince, *Prepare me a Dinner, such as I used to have, and let me see the Bill of Fare* ; when the Steward brought the Bill, the Prince liked it very well, but the Steward said, *Sir,*
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This is but your ordinary Diet, now you should have something extraordinary, because this is an Extraordinary Ambassador; the Prince thinking what the Steward said to be something reasonable, and finding but one Pig set down in the Bill, commanded him to put down another Pig, and that was all the additions he would make; for knowing the Ambassador to be a Scotch Man, and that they generally hate Swines flesh, it seems he thought nothing a fitter Entertainment for him than a couple of Pigs; but the King's mincing of these matters, his many Carresses, Huffs and Protestations would not do with the Parliament, for there was such a multiplication of Grievances, and infringments of the Peoples Liberty, and such a backwardness from the Court for the redress of them, that at length they were dissolved in displeasure, and this set every Man's Tongue loose upon him, that tho' the King loved Hunting above all other exercises, and had many good Hunters about him, yet all these, and the strength of a Proclamation to forbid talking of State Affairs, could not refrain them from mounching it out, that Great Brittain was become less than little England; that they had lost strength by changing Sexes; and that he was no King but a Fidlers Son, otherwise he would not have suffered so many disorders at home, and so much dishonour abroad; and the story
of

of *David Riccius*, (saith *Wilson*) written by *Buchanan* the King's own Tutor, had been like to die in every *Englishman's* Opinion, if it had not had a new impression by these miscarriages.

These Domestick Troubles, together with the many delays, and dissatisfactions he received from *Spain* and *Rome*, about the *Spanish Match*, begot him so much trouble and vexation of Spirit, that pressing upon his Natural Temper, it wrought some Fits of Melancholy in him, which those about him with facetious Mirth, would strive to mitigate; and having exhausted their store, or not making use of such as were more pregnant, *Buckingham* and his Mother, instead of Mirth, fell upon Prophaneness, thinking thereby to please him, and perhaps, (says *Wilson*) they were only mistaken in the unseasonableness of the time, being not then suitable to the Humour; for they caused Mrs. *Aspernham*, a young Gentlewoman of the Kindred, to dress a Pig like a Child, and the old Countess like a Midwife brought it into the King in a rich Mantle; And then *Jurpin*, who had Married one of the Kindred, (whose Name was renowned

nowned for a Bishop in the Romances of the Emperor *Charlemagne*) was drest like a Bishop in a Sattin Gown, Lawn Sleeves, and other Pontifical Ornaments; who with the Common-Prayer Book, began the Words of Baptism, one attending with a silver Bason of Water for the Service: The King hearing the Ceremony of Baptism read, and the squeaking noise of the Brute Animal, which he most abhorred, turned about to see what Pageant it was, and finding *Turpin's* Face, which he very well knew, drest like a Bishop, and *Buckingham*, whose Face he most of all loved, stand for God-Father, he cried out, *Away, for shame, what Blasphemy is this*; and turning aside with a frown, turned all the sport and jollity they expected, to a cold damp of Spirit: Neither did the Prince's going into *Spain* any ways mend the matter, but made it every way worse and worse; for in stead of Consummating, he and *Buckingham* quite broke off the Match, which King *James* had so much set his rest upon, but what was worst of all, the Duke did so wind himself into the Affections of the Prince, that he governed the Son now as Despotically as e-

ver he had done the Father, and this had another Misfortune attending of it, that the rising Sun was now Worshipped, and the old King neglected, which yet he had not power to redress, and which no doubt hastned his Fate, as we are now just ready to relate unto you.

The King, who was the most impatient of all Men, to be told of his Faults, was so out of love with Parliaments for that very Reason, that by his Good-Will he would never have called another; but Dire necessity, which has no Law, brought him once more to it, and so a Parliament was Summoned to meet on the Twelfth of February, Anno 1623. but that same morning, as a kind of Presage of his own Destiny, the King missed the Duke of Richmond's Attendance, who being a constant observer of him at all times, the King did now as it were want one of his Limbs to support the Grandeur of His Majesty at such a Solemnity; and calling for him with great Earnestness, he dispatched a Messenger to his Lodgings in all haste, where the King's Command, and the Messengers importunity, made the Dutcheß his Wife some-

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somewhat unwillingly go to his Bed-side, when drawing the Curtain, she found him Dead in his Bed, the sad News whereof was carried with that violence to the King, that he would not Adorn himself that day to Ride in Pomp to the Parliament House, but put it off till the nineteenth of *February*, Dedicated some part of that time to the memory of his dead Servant.

The Parliament sate at the time appointed, and upon *Buckingham's* fine Narration about the Spanish Match, advised the King to break off the Treaty with *Spain*, which the King himself seemed forward to promote, being now got quite into the Prince and Duke's Toil, and sets a Treaty of Marriage on Foot with *France*. But before the entire Consummation of the same, as the Duke of *Richmond* was the long, so now the Marquess of *Hamilton* was the short forerunner of the King's Death; both which, 'twas believed, were forwarded by the same hand. The Marquess Died with very presumptuous Symptoms of being Poisoned; his Head and Body swelling to an excessive bigness, and the Body being all over

over full of great Blisters, with variety of Colours; the Hairs of his Head, Eye-brows and Beard, came off with a touch, and brought the Skin with them; great Clamour there was about it in the Court, so that Doctors were sent for to view the Body, but the matter was huddled up, and little said of it; only Doctor *Eglisbam*, a Scotch Man, was something bitter against the Duke, as if he had been Author of it: 'Tis certain, That the Marquels's unwillingness, that his Son should Marry the Earl of *Denbigh's* Daughter, the Duke's Niece, made a difference between them, with some other concurring Accidents, which however did not in this King's time break out into a Reflection upon the Duke, being bound up close, more (as it was thought) by his Power than his Innocence.

Not long after this, the King going to his last Hunting Journey, to wit, the last of the year, as well as of his Life, he fell sick of a Tertian Ague, which if we believe the Proverb, is not dangerous in the Spring.

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Spring, and had a few Fits of it ; having this Ague upon him , the Countess of *Buckingham* , who Trafficked much with Mountebanks , and whose Fame had no good savour , tampered with him in the absence of the Doctors , and the Duke her Son , when in the Judgment of the Physicians the Ague was in the decline , did apply Plaisters to the King's Wrists and Belly ; and did also deliver several quantities of Drink to him , and told him they were approved Medecines , though some of the King's Physicians did disallow thereof , and refused to meddle further with the King till the said Plaisters were removed , which the King much complained off , and was glad to have it pulled off , tho' with part of the Skin along with it ; It's certain the King found himself much worse after the said application , and that an high Fever , Droughts , Raving , Fainting , and an intermittent Pulse followed thereupon ; and 'tis manifest he was himself suspicious of foul play upon him , for when one of his faithful Servants saw him in one of his Fits , and to comfort him , said,

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Courage, Sir, this is but a small Fit, the next will be none at all. He answer'd, *Ab, 'tis not the Ague that afflicts me, but the Black Plaister and Powder given me and laid to my Stomach by Buckingham:* And he would often say to *Montgomery*, whom he trusted above all Men in the time of his Sickness, *For God's sake look I have fair Play.* When he was near the point of Death, as *Buckingham* entred the King's Chamber, one of his honest Servants said to him, *Ab, my Lord, you have undone us all his poor Servants, altho' you are so well provided for you need not care:* With which words the Duke was so stung, (for where there is Guilt it will quickly appear) that he kickt at him, who caught his Foot, and made his Head first come to the ground; where presently rising, he ran to the King's Bed-side, and cryed, *Justice, Sir, I am abus'd by your Servant, and wrongfully accus'd:* At which the poor King Mournfully fix'd his Eyes upon him, as if he would have said, *Not wrongfully*, yet without Speech or Sence; But before his Departure he called for the Prince his Son, who rising out of his Bed, something before day, and presenting himself before him, the King rouzed up his Spirits, and raised himself up, as if he meant to speak to him, but Nature being exhausted, he had not strength to express his Intentions; but soon after Expired, being upon Sunday Morning the 27th of *March*, 1625. at *Theobalds*, in the Eight and fifti-

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eth year of his Age, and the Two and twentieth of his Reign compleat, there being more than a Presumption, that he run the same Destiny with his Ancestors, whose Deaths were Violent as well by Father, as Mother's side, which we have more particularly noted; for *Henry Stuart* Lord *Darnley*, his own Father, was Strangled, and carry'd out of his House, and set under a Tree, and then his House Blown up with Gunpowder; his Grandfather *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, was Shot at *Sterlin*, of which Wound he some days after died; and his Great Grandfather *John Stuart* Earl of *Lenox* was slain near *Linlithgow*, in a Conflict he had with the *Hamiltonians* and the *Douglasses*, about the Enlargement of *James* the Fifth. The Duke, 'tis true, did afterward endeavour to Purge himself from the foremention'd Application, by alleadging, he had receiv'd both the Drink and Plaster from Doctor *Remington* at *Dunmore* in *Essex*, who had often Cured Agues and such Distempers with the same; yet they were Arguments of a complicated kind, and not to be easily unfolded; considering, that whatsoever he receiv'd from the Doctor in the Country, he might apply what he pleas'd to the King at the Court; and besides, had the Medicine been the best in the World, the Act was Daring, and no ways Justifiable in him, because he wanted the Consent of the King's Physitians there-to: and one of *Puckingham's* great Provocations

cations was thought to be, that the King now being weary of his too much Greatness and Power, was about to set up *Bristol*, his deadly Enemy against him to pull him down: The Application of this Medicine was one of the 13 Articles charged afterward upon the Duke by the Parliament, who rarely accuse upon false Rumour, or bare Suggestion; and surely he will have work to do that takes upon him to excuse the King, his Successor, in this Matter for Dissolving the Parliament, to preserve one that was accus'd by them for Poisoning his Father; especially if it be consider'd, that the Commons had then Voted him Four Subsidies, and Four Fifteenths, which they had not time to pass into an Act. What did farther increase Mens suspicions, was, one Doctor *Lamb* (a Fellow of a most Infamous conversation) his frequenting to, and being much imploy'd by the Countess and her Son, which did at length so incense the People against him, that finding him in the Streets of *London*, *An. 1628.* they set upon him with Stones and Staves, and knocked out his Brains; as also one *Butler* an *Irishman*, that pretended to be a *Chymist*, and was very intimate with the foresaid Company, I mean the Duke and his Mother; and indeed, the Story of his Death (as was then reported) is a very convincing Evidence of some secret Machination betwixt the Duke and him, which made the Duke be desirous to be rid of

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him : *For Mischief* (says *Mr. Wilson*), *being an ingrosser , is unsecured, unsatisfied, when their Wares are to be vented in many Shops.* This Man was, by the Dukes means, recommended, upon some plausible pretence to some Jesuites beyond the Seas, where he was entertain'd with a great deal of specious Ceremony and Respect in one of their Colleges ; and at Night being attended by them into his Chamber, with much Civility, which was hung with Tapestry, and had Tapers burning in stretched-out-Armes upon the Wall ; when they gave him the *Good-night*, they told him, they would send one should direct him to his Lodging ; and they were no sooner out of the Room of Death, but the Floor, that hung upon great Hinges on one side, was let fall by Artificial Engines, and the poor *Vermine Butler* dropt into a Precipice, where he was never more heard of.

To conclude, *King James* was Learned, and had fine Notions in Conception, but could bring but few of them into Action, tho' they tended to his Honour and Safety ; for this was one of his Apothegms, which he made no timely use of, *Let that Prince that would beware of Conspiracies, be rather jealous of such, whom his extraordinary Favours have advanc'd, then of those whom his Displeasure hath discontented ; these want Means to execute their Pleasures, but they have means at pleasure to execute their desires.* But a late Learned Author has exprest as much contempt

tempt of his Learning, as *Ben Johnson* did of his Poetry, saying, It was a Scandal to his Crown (meaning his Writings against *Bellarmino* and *Perrone*, about their King-killing, and King-deposing Doctrine) and it seems *Henry 4.* of *France* had not a much better opinion of the same; who, when he heard some Men Celebrating of him with these Attributes, answer'd truly enough, *That he was a fine King indeed, and Wrote little Books.*

King *James* was Succeeded by His Son † *Charles*, in all His Dominions, but much more so in all His Misfortunes, for this was one of the unhappiest Prin-

† *Charles Stuart I.* began His Reign over Great Britain, March 27th, 1625.

ces that ever Swayed a Scepter. There is little remarkable concerning this Prince in his Infancy, only he was noted (as *Lilly* says) to be very wilful and obstinate, by the old *Scottish* Lady his Nurse; and even by his own Mother *Queen Ann*; who, being told on a time, he was very Sick and like to die, said, *He would not then die, but live to be the Ruine of himself, and the Three Kingdoms, through his too much Wilfulness.* And it seems the Symptoms of his Fore-Fathers Destiny appear'd in his very Face; for his Picture having been presented to the then Duke of *Tuscany*, the first sight and inspection thereof made him start, and say, He saw something in it that Presag'd a strange and violent Exit. Moreover, if what the said Author says be true, That *Land*, at

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His Coronation at *Westminster*. alter'd the Old Coronation Oath, and framed another New one for him in the room of it; it was a foul stumble at first dash. It rarely happens, and I think but very few Instances can be given, that one and the same Person proves a Favourite to Two Princes together; but, it seems, nothing could resist the Charmes of the Glorious *Buckingham*, who now Governs the Son more Despotically than 'er he had done the Father, and put him upon those very Expeditions, that, with other concurring Mismanagements, made Shipwrack of His Honour at home, procured him scorn and contempt abroad, and hastned those Calamities, which, at length, resolved in his own sad Catastrophe and Ruine. But surely it argu'd a very mean and poor spirit in him, to take him into his Bosom, and to be govern'd by one, that had twice, in his Father's time, so highly affronted and disdain'd him; the first at *Royston*, before many People, by bidding of him, in plain terms, Kiss his A—— And the second time at *Greenwich*, in the sight of about 400 Persons, when lifting up his hand over his head with a Ballon Brasser, and saying, in most undutiful terms to him, *By G. it shall not be so, you shall not have it;* The Prince answer'd, *What, my Lord, I think you intend to strike me.* It's true, to have forgotten, and never to revenge such Injuries when he had been King, had been worthy the Noble Mind

Mind of a Prince; but it also became him never to have suffer'd him to come near his Court, to be upbraided with the sight of so much scorn, that had been so publickly offer'd him: and some Criticks at Court at that time, did not stick to read his future Destiny. At King *James's* Death the Nation was rent into Four Factions, viz. the Prerogative, Popish, Puritan, and Country Party, which, in a short time, was reduc'd into two, the two former uniting their force against the other two; and one should have thought, it had been the business of the New King to have compos'd these first, rather than make War abroad: But King *James* his Body was scarce cold, when *Buckingham* put King *Charles* upon a War with *Spain*. Both of them, when in that Kingdom, had receiv'd so many Civilities from his Catholick Majesty, that they now resolve to Invade his Country with a Powerful Fleet, and a Land Army, under the Command of my Lord *Wimbleton*; but in their passage they met with a Furious Storm, which so scatter'd the Fleet, that of Eighty, no less than Fifty Ships were missing for seven days. But this was but the beginning of the Misfortunes of this Miserable Expedition, for the Confusion of Orders was such, as the Officers and Soldiers scarce knew who to Command, or whom to Obey; so that when they came to *Cadiz*, a Conquest which would have paid the Charge of the Voyage, and to the Honour

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of the *English*, offer'd it self; for the *Spanish* Shipping in the Bay lay unprovided of defence, so as the surprizing of them was both ealie and feasible; but this was neglected, and when the Opportunity was lost, Sir *John Burroughs* Landed the Army, and took a Fort, but was forced to quit it because of the Disorder and Intemperance of the Soldiers, who upon that return'd on Board again, and sailed away for *England* *re infecta*; which occasion'd no small clamour from the People, and especially in that none was punished for Mismanagement: But how dishonourable soever this Expedition was, the King and his Minister lost much more Reputation, by lending a Fleet to the *French King*, to beat that of the *Rochellers* under *Monsieur Sobiez*, the Great Duke of *Rohan's* Brother, whereby a foundation was laid to ruin the Protestant Interest in *France*, and which all the power that e're they could afterward make, when the Tables were turned, could not relieve, though the Duke himself (who was much sitter for the Delicacies of a Court, than the toyls and stratagems of War) was at the head of it, and perished by the hands of *Felton* at *Portsmouth*, just as he was ready to Embark the second time in person for that purpose. It's true, the design was pursued by the Earl of *Lindsey*, who several times attempted to force the Barricadoes of the River before *Rochel*, but all in vain; or if he had, it would have been to no purpose,

pose, for the Victuals wherewith they should have been relieved, were all tainted, and all the Tackle and other Materials of the Fleet defective, so that they could not stay long there. The many and unheard-of Violations of the Priviledges of the Subject by Loans, Benevolences, Ship-money, Coat and Conduct-money, &c. with the continual Jars between this King and all his Parliaments during his Reign, so as that there has been scarce three days of mutual harmony between them throughout, (which cannot be said of any other King since the Conquest how bad soever) his Imprisoning, Fining, and banishing of the Members, and his riding the Nation for above fifteen years together by more than a *French* Government, because they are noted else where, I think no where so well as in the History of the four last Reigns, Written by that Learned Gentleman, and my worthy good Friend when alive, Mr. *Roger Coke*; I shall not recite the same in this place, as not falling exactly under the notion of this Treatise: Tho I am to inform you these were the things, together with the imposing the Service-Book upon the *Scots*, where the Quarrel was begun by an Old Woman casting her Stool at the Priest, when he was reading of it, as they said; that were the foundation of those dreadful Wars waged so many years within the Bowels of the three Kingdoms, (which do not fall under
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our present consideration neither) and of the King's subsequent destiny, the Particulars whereof, with some other concurring and intervening accidents we shall give you at large.

After the War had been manag'd between the King and Parliament with various fortune for some years, and several Treaties set on foot to compose those unhappy and fatal Differences, at last came the fatal day wherein the Quarrel came to be decided between them at *Naseby* in *Northamptonshire*, which was on Saturday June 14. 1645. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was the Parliaments General, and the King commanded his own Army in Person; who in the beginning of the Fight prevailed, for Prince *Rupert* Routed the Parliaments Left Wing commanded by *Ireton*, but Pursuing to far left the Kings Left Wing open to be charged by *Cromwel*, who falling furiously on, and the rest Rallying, obtained a most absolute Victory. But among the vast number of Prisoners and Horses taken with Arms and Ammunition, that which was even a greater loss to the King then the Battle, was, that one of his Coaches, with his Cabinets of Letters and Papers fell into the Parliaments hands, whereby his most Secret Counsels with the Queen, which were so contrary to those he declared to the King; dom, were discovered: For in one of his Letters he declared to her, his intention to make Peace with the *Irish*, and to have

40000 of them over into *England*, to prosecute the War there: In others he complained, he could not prevail with his Mungrel Parliament at *Oxford* (so he was pleased to call those Gentlemen who had stuck to him all along) to Vote that the Parliament at *Westminster* were not a Lawful Parliament: That he would not make Peace with the Rebels (the Parliament) without her approbation, nor go one jot from the Paper She sent him; That in the Treaty at *Uxbridge* he did not positively own the Parliament, it being otherwise to be constru'd, tho' they were so simple as not to find it out, and it was Recorded in the Notes of the King's Council, that he did not acknowledge them a Parliament. Which Papers the Members took care to Print and Publish to the World, and shewed by a publick Declaration what the Nobility and Gentry who followed the King might trust too, and I dare say, this stuck so close in the Minds of many, that nothing contributed more to his Ruine, then this double dealing of his. Now the King's Garrisons surrender by heaps, *Oxford* was the last, which being blocked up by the Parliaments Forces, the King thought himself in no security in it; For the Parliament refused to admit him to come to *London*, unless he signed their propositions, wherefore the *French* Ambassador in the *Scots* Quarters advising him to throw himself into the *Scots* Power, it was *Hobson's* Choice,

Choice, one even as good as the other, and so being accompany'd by one *Hudson* a Minister, and Mr. *John Ashburnham*; he threw himself into the Scots hands; who having got him into their Power, resolve to make a double Bargain of him, viz. to have him to order *Montross* to disband his Army and retire into *Scotland*, and then to Sell him to the Parliament for as much Money as they could get for him. The first is no sooner ask'd but granted; but the bargain for the Sale of him (and surely never was any King in this World so unhappy as to be sold by his own Subjects before himself) being a mighty business to the Scots, it lasted from the 5th. of May 1646 to January following, when being concluded, the Parliament who now had a full right to him, after they had bought him, confine him to *Foldenby-house*, an House of his own in *Northamptonshire*, under a select Guard of their own choosing: So that as Mr. *Cook* observes, he that before had sifted the worthy Members of Parliament from one Prison to another, that they might not have the benefit of their *Habeas Corpus's*, and the Constables of *Hertfordshire* from one Messenger to another, is himself sifted Prisoner from one place to another without any hope of an *Habeas Corpus*: And as he before by his absolute Will and Pleasure, would without any Law seize his Subjects Goods and commit them to Prison, as also raise Ship-money in an Arbitrary manner,

manner, so he cannot now enjoy his own Estate in his own House, nor has one Ship to command. Soon after this the Parliament and Army began to be jealous of each other; and the latter having no face of Authority to recur unto, the *Presbyterian* Members in both Houses being three to one, what do they do but send Cornet *Joyce* with a Party of Horse on the 4th of *June* 1647 to take the King out of the Parliaments Commissioners hands and to keep him in the Army; which however he might take it, was not designed for his advantage, tho' they seemed to lament the hard conditions the Members imposed upon him not only in his Liberty, but in keeping him from his Children and Friends; and now they allow him both, professing they would never lay down Arms until they had put the Scepter into his hands, and procured better Conditions for his Friends: And in order hereunto, they seem to joyn the King's Interests with their own, and in their Declaration for Redress of Grievances, declare for the King and People, that the Members prefix a certain time for their Sitting, and charge 11 of the leading Members that had been most forward to establish the Covenant with being guilty of High Treason, and most of them fled for it. The Covenanters could not but see whither these proceedings tended, and therefore they had upon the 4th of *May* settled the Militia of *London* in the hands
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of the *Presbyterians*, but upon a Letter from the General of the 10th of *June* to the Parliament, that the Militia of *London* might be put into the hands of Persons better affected to the Army, the Commons tamely Submitted to it, and repealed the foresaid Ordinance of the 4th of *May*. But the City-Men in Common Counsel Petition the Commons against this, insisting upon their own Right to dispose of the Militia: The Lords upon the Reading of the Petition revoke the Ordinance of the Commons of *July* 23 and confirm that of the 4th of *May*, according to the Cities desire, and kept back some of the Commons till the Members within had agreed to it, and enforced the Speaker to pass a Vote that the King should come to *London*, and so both Houses Adjourned for four days. In this Interval the Members who favoured the Army, and the Speakers of both Houses went to the Army, and there complained of the Violences put upon the Parliament; and the Houses after the expiration of the four days Adjournment, meet, and chose new Speakers, and Voted,

1. That the King should come to *London*.
2. That the Militia of *London* should be Authoriz'd to raise Forces for the defence of the City.
3. That power be given to the same Militia to choose a General.
4. And that the Eleven Members Impeach'd by the Army should take their Seats in the Parliament.

The Citizens hereupon

hereupon proceed to raise Forces, which, tho' Numerous, yet being raw and not fit to cope with an old Experienc'd and Victorious Army, they were forced to come to Terms and comply with the Army in their demands; so that in short the Speakers and Members returned again, and recinded all that was done since the 26th of July, and Voted several Lords guilty of High Treason, and the Lord Mayor with several other Citizens were committed Prisoners to the Tower upon the same account. The King could not but conceive some hopes from these Broyls, that might tend to his Advantage, and indeed both Parliament and Army seem to Court him now, and the Parliament sent propositions of Peace to him at *Hampton-Court*; but *Cromwel* was as fearful the King should agree with the Parliament as the King was unwilling to agree to them, and therefore *Cromwel* gave the Commissioners instructions, that if the King would assent to Propositions lower then those of the *Parliament*, that the Army would settle him again in his Throne; hereupon the King returned Answer to the Parliament, that he waved now the Propositions put to him, or any Treaty upon them, flies to the Proposals of the Army, and urges a Treaty upon them, and such as he shall make; professes he will give Satisfaction, to settle the Protestant Religion, with Liberty to tender Consciences, to
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secure the Laws, Liberty and Property and Priviledges of Parliaments, and as for those concerning *Scotland* he would Treat apart with the *Scots* Commissioners. Upon Reading of the King's Answer, a day was appointed by either House to consider of it, and in the mean time they order'd the same to be communicated to the *Scotch* Commissioners. It was affirmed in those times that *Cromwel* had made a private Article with the King, that if the King closed with the Propositions of the Army, *Cromwel* should be Advanced to a degree higher than any other, as Earl of *Essex* and Vicar-General of *England*, as *Thomas Cromwel* in *Henry 8* time was. But it seems he was so uxorious that he would do nothing without communicating it to the Queen, and so wrote to her; That tho' he assented to the Armies Proposals, yet if by assenting to them he could procure a Peace, it would be easier then to take of *Cromwel*, than now he was the head that govern'd the Army. *Cromwel* who had his Spies upon every motion of the King intercepts these Letters, and resolved never to trust the King again, yet doubted that he could not manage his designs, if the King were so near the Parliament and City at *Hampton-Court*; Therefore *Cromwel* sent to the King that he was in no safety at *Hampton-Court*, by reason of the hatred which the Adjutators bore to him, and that he would be in more safety in the

the *Isle of Wight*, and so upon the 11th of *November* at night made his escape, having *Post-horses*, and a Ship provided for him at *South-hampton* to that purpose. But when he came to the Island he was secured by *Collonel Hammond*, who gave the Parliament notice of it, from whence the King sent to the Members for a Personal Treaty of Peace at *London*, which after much debate was agreed to upon four Preliminaries, which the King utterly rejected, and so incensed the Houses that they Voted, that they would make no further applications or addressees to the King; That no other presume to make any application to him without leave from both Houses; That whoever Transgressed in that kind should be guilty of High Treason; That they would receive no more Messages from the King, and that none presume to bring any Message from him to either or both Houses of Parliament or any other Person. These were hard lines to this unfortunate King, who now had no more to do then patiently to submit to what time produced; but how pleasing soever these Votes were to the Army, the *Scots* and diverse parts of the *English Nation* were not content with them, and so they rise in Arms in *Essex*, *Kent*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Wales* and the *North*, and declare for the King and People: Part of the Fleet also Revolted to Prince *Charles*, but all these Revolts were quelled by a

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Victorious Army in a short time. But while the Army was buſied abroad, the Members having gotten poſſeſſion of the Fleet, and the City of *London* being well affected to them, they joyn with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners and reſcine the Votes of the Non-addreſſes to the King, and appointed a conference with him at *Newport* in the *Iſle of Wight* to continue for forty days, and to that purpoſe take him out of Priſon, and allow him the Liberty of the *Iſland*; and the King upon the matter with reluctance enough, grants the *Scots*, and the Members, their own Demands. But no endeavours of his Subjects, nor the joynt deſires of the *Scots* and Members, could protect this unhappy Prince from his approaching Ruine; for the Army now every where Victorious over the *Scots* and Royaliſts, draw together, and make a Remonſtrance againſt all Peace with the King, that Juſtice might be done upon Him, the Crown-land and Church-land might be ſold to Pay their Army, and that the preſent Parliament be Diſſolved, and another Called: But the Members were intent upon the King's Answer to their Propoſitions, and laid aſide the Armies Remonſtrance, which they take as a ſlighting of them, and then ſeized the King in the *Iſle of Wight*, and make Him a Priſoner in *Hurſt-Caſtle*, an unhealthy place, and March to *London*, putting Garrisons in Noblemen's Houſes and *Whitehall*, and Poſt them.

themselves about the *Pallace-yard*. But the Members for all this Met upon the First of Decemb. 1648. and Voted the King's Concessions to be a sufficient ground for a Peace, and then Adjourn'd for a Week: yet when they were to Meet again, they found all the Avenues to the House beset with Soldiers, who Excluded all that were not of their Faction from entering the House, which were not one fourth part, and made the residue Prisoners: This Juncto, called afterward the Rump Parliament, having in this manner Purged the House, Assume to themselves the Supream Power of Ordering the *English* Affairs, Confirm the Votes of Non-Addresses, and raze the Votes of having a Conference with the King, and the Declaration that the King's Concessions were a sufficient ground for a Peace, out of the Journals of the House; and Vote, *First*, That all Power resides in the People. *Secondly*, That the Power belongs to the Peoples Representatives in the House of Commons. *Thirdly*, That the Votes of the Commons have the Force of a Law, without the King. *Fourthly*, That to take up Arms against the Representatives of the People, or the Parliament, was High-Treason. *Fifthly*, That the King Himself took up Arms against the Parliament, and therefore was guilty of all the Blood shed in the Civil War; and ought, by His own Blood, to expiate the same: But the Ordinance for the King's Trial being sent up

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to the Lords for their Concurrence, they Rejected it *January* the 2^d, and Adjourned for 10 days ; but first sent back that they would give Answer : Whereupon the Commons search the Lords Journal-Book, and find these Votes: 1. To send an Answer. 2. That their Lordships do not concur to the Declaration. 3. That their Lordships Reject the Ordinance for Tryal of the King: But the Commons for all that go on, and Vote the Lords Dangerous; Order the King to be brought to *London* under a Guard, Read and Ingrossed the Ordinance for his Tryal on the 6th of *January*, and the Manner was referred to the Commissioners who were to Try Him; and, to that end, to Meet in the Painted Chamber on Munday, *January* the 9th. who Resolved, that Proclamation should be made in *Westminster-Hall*; that the Commissioners were to Sit again to Morrow, and that all those who had any thing to say against the King should be heard. In this manner, Mr. *Denby*, who was Sergeant at Arms to the Commissioners, Rode into the Hall with his Mace, and some other Officers all bare, attended with Six Trumpets on Horseback, who Sounded in the midst of the Hall, the Drums of the Guard, in the mean time, Beating without in the *Pallace-yard*, at the *Old Exchange*, and in *Cheapside*; The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*, Petition'd the House of *Commons* for Justice against the

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the King; to Settle the Votes, that the Supreme Power was in them; and the City resolved to stand by them to the utmost: and because nothing should obstruct the intended Work, *Hillary* Term was Adjourned for Fourteen days, and Proclamation made thereof in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and other Market-Towns; but that this poor Prince might have some glimmering of hope, the *Scots* Parliament began *January 2d.* understanding what was done at *London*, in reference to the King's Tryal, Dissent from the said proceedings, and Direct some Papers, To *William Lenthall Esquire*, *Speaker of the House of Commons*: which the House took as an Affront and Denyal of their Authority, and so thought not fit to Read them, but yet Voted to send Commissioners into *Scotland*, to preserve a Good Correspondence between both Nations: Several Ministers, from their Pulpits, Declaimed also against the Proceedings against the King's Person; some of the Nobility offer'd themselves Pledges in his behalf: and *January 19*, the *Scottish* Commissioners deliver'd some Papers, and a Declaration from the Parliament of *Scotland*, wherein they express a dislike of the present Proceedings; and declare, That the Kingdom of *Scotland* had an undoubted Interest in the King's Person, who was not deliver'd to the *English* Commissioners at *Newcastle* for the Ruine of his Person, but for the more speedy

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Settlement of the Peace of his Kingdoms; That they extreemly Dissented, and Declared against the Tryal of Him, in regard of the Great Miseries that were like to ensue thereupon, and desired leave to make their Personal Addresses to Him. The like Papers were also Presented to the General, but all signify'd nothing; for the Commissioners for the Tryal proceeded to make all things in a readiness; and to that purpose Order'd, that the Sword and Mace, tho' they had the King's Arms thereon, should be brought into the Court at His Tryal, and the King to be brought from St. James's, where he was then a Prisoner, to Sir Robert Cotton's House at Westminster. They erected a Tribunal, called, *The High Court of Justice*, over which was appointed One hundred and fifty Judges, at the upper end of Westminster-Hall, the Courts of Chancery and Kings-Bench, being ordered into one; and these Judges were impower'd to Convent, Hear, Judge, and Execute Charles Stuart King of England. All things being now fitted up, the King on Saturday the 20th. was brought from St. James, through the Park in a Chair to Whitehall, and from thence carried by Water under a Guard to Sir Robert Cotton's House at the back end of Westminster-Hall. the Judges in the mean time met in the Painted Chamber, attending upon their President Serjeant Bradshaw in his Scarlet Robe, who had the Sword born before him by

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Col. *Humphrey*, the Mace by Serjeant *Denny*, and twenty Men with Partizans for his Guard. When they came into the Court, the President sat him down in a Crimson Velvet Chair of State, fixed in the midst of the Court, with a Desk before him, and a Cushion of Crimson Velvet thereon; and the Seats on each side of him were Benches covered with Scarlet-cloth. And after silence made, the Great Gate of the Hall was set open for any to enter in; after which Col. *Thompson* was commanded to bring forth the Prisoner, who was conducted with twenty Partizans, and other Guards, and was by the Serjeant with his Mace received to the Bar, where was a Red Velvet Chair set for him. He looked sternly upon the Court, and up to the Galleries, then sat him down, but presently got up again, and looked downward on the Guard and multitude of Spectators, not shewing the least regard to the Court all the while; then was the Act of Parliament read over, for the Trial of *Charles Stuart King of England*, by the Clerk, who sat on the right side of the Table, covered with a *Turky* Carpet placed at the feet of the President, upon which lay the Sword, and Mace; and the several Names of the Judges in the Roll were called over, and eighty answered to their Names. When that was over, then the King's Charge was brought, wherein he was accused, in the Name of the People of England, of Treason,

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son, Tyranny, Murders, Rapines, &c. and more especially for levying War against the Parliament. And the President stood up and said, Sir, You have heard your Charge, containing such matters as appears in it; and in the close it is pray'd, that you answer to your Charge, which this Court expects. The King replied, By what Authority did they bring him to a Trial, who was their King, against the Publick Faith so lately given him, when he commenced a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament? Urged them to shew what Lawful Authority they had to call him to an account, which if they did, he would readily answer, otherwise advised them to avert the Judgments that might hang over their heads for such their proceedings against him. The President rejoyned that he was called to an account by the People of *England*, by whose Election he was admitted King: The King here insists upon his inherent birth-right, and that the Kingdom was Hereditary for above a thousand years; and that he stood more apparently for the Liberty of the People of *England* by rejecting an unlawful and arbitrary Authority, than the Judges or any other whatsoever did by asserting of it; That no Lords appear'd there, who to constitute a Parliament should have been present, and some King also; but that neither the one nor the other, nor both the Houses of Parliament, nor any other Judicature on Earth had any

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Authority to call the King of England to account, much less, some certain Judges, chosen by his accusers, masked with the Authority of the Lower House, and the same proculcated. However he wills them again to produce their Authority, and he would not be wanting to his Defence, for as much as it was the same offence with him to acknowledge a Tyrannical Power as to resist a lawful one. But the President made answer, That he was not to question the Jurisdiction of the Court, that they were satisfied with their Authority, as it was up on God's Authority and the Kingdom's, in doing of Justice, and that this was their present work. To which the King said, That it was not his own nor their apprehensions neither, that ought to decide it, and so the President ordered the Prisoner to be taken into Custody, and then the Court adjourned till the *Monday* following, being the 22. of *January*, to the *Painted Chamber*, and from thence to the same place again, and the King was carried back in the same manner as before to *St. James's*. The Court accordingly met on *Monday* in the *Painted Chamber*, and there considering the King's Resolution to deny the Jurisdiction of the Court, or of that which did constitute it, of which debate they had no proper cognizance, nor could they being a derivative power which made them Judges, from which there was no Appeal; they therefore order, that if the King offer to dispute

dispute the same again, the President should tell him, That the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, had constituted that Court, whose power might not be permitted to be disputed by him, and that if he refused to answer, it should be accounted a Contumacy to the Court, that if he answered with a *Salvo* his pretended Prerogative above the Court, he should be required to give a Positive answer, yea or no, that he should not have a Copy of his Charge till he owned the Court, and declared his intentions to answer. This being concluded on, the King is again brought to the Bar in the same manner, where the Solicitor Cook moved that the Prisoner might make a positive answer, or that the Charge might be taken *pro Confesso*, and so the Court proceed to Justice; and the President did briefly repeat the passages of the last day, and commanded the King to answer to the Articles of Charge, unless he had rather hear the Capital Sentence given against him. But the King still persisted to Interrogate concerning their Authority, that he had weighty Reasons why he should not acknowledg this new form of Judicature; that they had no Law for it, and that they could not have an extraordinary Authority Delegated from the People, seeing they had not consulted so much as every tenth Man in that matter. But the President put him in mind of his doom, and told him the Court was abundantly satisfied of their

their Authority; nor were they to hear any Reasons that should detract from their Power. And when the King urged to give in his Reasons in Writing, it would by no means be admitted; and so the President commanded the Prisoner to be taken away.

The third Days Trial, which was Tuesday, was in effect the same as the last mentioned, in respect to the Courts demands, and the Kings answer, so that the Court adjourned till next Morning at Ten of the Clock; but the Examination of Witnesses, and other intervening business prevented their then sitting, so that it was Saturday Morning January 27. before they assembled, and 68. of the Judges answered to their Names. As the King was brought into the Court the Soldiers cried for Justice and Execution; and the King desired to be heard a few words, and so goes on to shew how a sudden Judgment could not be soon recalled, &c. But the President magnified the Patience the Court had had towards him, advised him now at length to submit, otherwise he should hear the Sentence of Death resolved on by the Court against him; but he still refused to plead, and desired he might have liberty to say some things for the good of the People before both Houses; but the President said this would but delay and retard Justice. But the King answered, that he had not sought occasions of delay, else he would have made a more Elaborate contestation of the Cause, but that there could

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could be no hurt in a delay of a day or two, rather than precipitate Judgment, which might lay the Nation under perpetual Miseries, and so desired to withdraw, and the Court to consider. The King was carried to *Corton-house*, and the Judges withdrew to the Court of Wards, and in half an hour returned; and when the King insisted still that he might be first heard before his Parliament, and not prevailing, the President went on and shewed how contumacious he had been, how hateful his Crimes were, and asserted the Parliamentary Authority, producing Examples both Domestick and Foreign, especially out of *Scotland*, where in the People had punished their Kings, and then affirmed that the Power of the People of *England* was not less over their King: That the Guilt of this King was greater than of all others, as being one who according to *Caligula's* wish, had attempted to cut off the neck of the Kingdom, by waging War against the Parliament; for all which he was in his Charge called Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a Publick Enemy to the Commonwealth, and that it had been well if that any of those terms might have been spared. At which words the King said, *Hon Sir*; but the other went on, and argued that *Rex est qui bene regit*, *Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*, and so lodged Arbitrary Government on him which he sought to put upon the People; That his Treasons were his breach of trust to the Kingdom,

Kingdom, as his Superior, and was therefore called to an account, *Minimus majorem in judicium vocat*; That his Murders were many, as being guilty of the Blood shed in the War between him and his people, which could not be cleansed, but by the Blood of him, who shed that Blood; he wished him to have God before his Eyes, and called God to witness, that the Court came merely out of the Conscience of their Duty to that place and imployment, which they were resolved to effect, and called for God's assistance in his Execution. Here the King made a motion to speak, but was told his time was now past, and his Sentence was coming on, which the President commanded to be read under this form:

Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament, have appointed them an High Court of Justice for the Trial of Charles Stuart King of England, before whom he had been three times Convicted, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of England, &c. as in the Charge, which was read throughout; to which Charge he the said Charles Stuart was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do; and so exprest several passages at his Trial, in refusing to answer; for all which Treasons and Crimes this Court doth adjudge that the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and Publick Enemy, shall be put to death by severing his Head from his Body.

And

And then the President said, the Sentence now read and published is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Resolution of the whole Court; to which the Members of the Court stood up and assented, by holding up their Hands. Then the King was taken away, and the Court broke up. As the King was lead along some of the Mobb carried it very rudely and unchristianly towards him; and that Night which was Saturday, *January 27.* he was Lodged in *Whitehall*, next day the Bishop of *London* Preached before him in his Chamber; and the same day the President, and all the Members of the High Court of Justice fasted in the Chappel at *Whitehall*. On Monday Morning he was conveyed to *St. James's*, and in the mean time Sir *Hardress Waller*, Colonel *Harrison*, Colonel *Dean*, Commissary General *Ireton*, and Col. *Oaks* were to consider of the time and place for Execution; and the President and Judges met on Monday Morning, *Jan. 29.* in the *Painted Chamber*, who together with the Committee resolved that the open Street before *Whitehall* was the fittest place; that the King should be there Executed on the next day between Ten and Two a Clock upon a Scaffold covered with Black. The King who was now apprehensive of the approach of his fatal end, exprest his desires by a Member of the Army; That in regard Sentence of Death was past upon him, and that the time of Execution might be near, that

that he might see his Children, and so receive the Sacrament, and to prepare himself for Death, and that the Bishop of London might pray with him in private in his Chamber; all which was granted him.

When the fatal day appear'd, which was Tuesday, Jan. 30. about Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon, he was called upon to come forth from St. James Palace, now his Prison, and was Conducted on Foot over the Park to Whitehall, Guarded with a Regiment of Foot; part whereof marched before, the rest behind, with Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guard of Partizans being next him; Dr. Juxton Bishop of London on the one side, and Col. Tomlison on the other; they went up by the Stairs to the Park Gallery, and so into his Cabinet-Chamber, where he continued at his Devotion, and refused to Dine; only about Twelve-a-Clock he Eat a Bit of Bread, and drank a Glas of Claret. From thence he was conveyed into the Banqueting-House, and the Great Window Enlarged, out of which he ascended the Scaffold, the Rails whereof were hung round, and the Floor covered with Black, with the Block and Axe set in the middle, and the Executioners wearing Vizzards standing by: He looked round about upon the People, who were kept a considerable distance off by the thick Guards and Troops of Horse that beset the Scaffold, and turning
to

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to the Officers, and more particularly to Col. Tomlison, begun with what necessity there lay upon him to say somewhat, lest his silence might be made an argument of his guilt, and with a Protestation of his Innocency in reference to any design he had to retrench the just Priviledges of Parliament; yet acknowledged his punishment to be just from God, and instanced only in his giving way to the death of the Earl of *Strafford*; appealed to the Bishop of *London*, (who stood by) for his forwardness to forgive his Enemies, yet professed a great concernedness for the Weal of the Kingdom; shewed how the then Managers of the State were in the wrong to think to govern by the Sword, advised them to restore his Son to the Inheritance of his Ancestors, and the People to their Rights, and due Liberties, to the abrogating of which by the enormous power of the Sword, because he could by no means be induced, he was brought thither to undergo a Martyrdom for his People. Then he prayed, and being minded by the Bishop to satisfie the Spectators as to his Religion; he said, that he had deposited the Testimony of his Faith with that holy Man, meaning the Bishop: That his Life and Profession had been well known, and that now he died in the Christian Faith according to the Profession of the Church of *England*, as the same was left him by his Father of Blessed Memory: And then turning about to the Officers,

Officers; and professing the hopes he had of his Salvation, he began to prepare for the Circumstances of Death. The Bishop put on his Night-cap, and uncloathed him to his Sky-coloured Sattin Waistcoat; he delivered his *George* to the Bishop's hands, and charged him to remember to give the same to the Prince, and having prayed again, he stooped down to the Block, and had his Head severed from his Body at one Blow about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, the day aforesaid, in the year 1648. dying the same death as to kind as his Grandmother *Mary* Queen of *Scots* had done sixty two years, and eight days before at *Fotheringham* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, and I think was no whit inferior to her in the misfortunes of his Life. And to note a few, his three Favourites, to wit, *Buckingham*, *Laud* and *Strafford*, undergoing a violent death, and the two latter falling by the Axe, as forerunners of his own destiny. And as to his own Personal errors; when *Bristol* was cowardly surrendered by *Fines*, had he then marched to *London*, as he might have done very well, all had been his own, but loytering to no purpose at *Gloucester*, he was soon after well banged by the Earl of *Essex*. When he had worsted *Essex* in *Cornwall*, he neglected the like opportunity of getting to *London*. Guilty he was of the same oversight in not commanding the Duke of *Newcastle* to march Southwards toward the Metropolis

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of *England*, before the *Scots* entred the *English* Borders; and in not doing the like himself, after he had taken *Leicester*; for there was nothing then that could have hindred him to become Master of the City. The same ill success he had as to his Treaties about being restored: And in short, he was generally unfortunate in the World, in the esteem not only of his Enemies, but in some sort of his Friends too, for as the later were n'er pleased with his breach of Faith, so the former would say, he could never be fast enough bound; and the Blood that some years before dropt upon his Statue at *Greenwich*, and the falling off of the Silver Head of his Cane at his Trial, were interpreted as dismal presages of his disastrous fate. His Head and Trunk after the Execution were immediately put into a Coffin, and conveyed to the Lodgings in *Whitehall*, and there Embowelled, and from thence conveyed to *St. James* House and Confined in Lead. About some fortnight after, the Duke of *Lennox*, Marquess of *Hartford*, Earl of *Southampton*, and Bishop of *London*, got leave to bury the Body, which they conducted to the Chappel at *Windsor*, and Interred it there in the Vault of *Henry* the Eighth, with this Inscription only upon his Coffin, *Charles King of England*. And herein he was more unhappy than his Grandmother *Mary*, for whereas her Corpse were some years after her death taken up by her Son King *James*, and Reposited with all the Funeral

Funeral Pomp that could be, in the Chapel of King *Henry* the Seventh her Great Grand Father. This King's Remains, notwithstanding the Commons, had Voted in 1669, the Sum of 50000 *l.* for the Charge of taking it up, a Solemn Funeral had of it, and a Monument for it, yet lay neglected, as if it had been blasted by fate, King *Charles* the Second his Son, they said, forbidding of it. A Physician that made inspection into the dissection of the Body, related that nature had designed him above the most of mortal men for a long life, but Providence ordered it otherwise; for he was cut off in the Forty ninth year of his Age, being his Climacterical, and twenty fourth of his Reign; leaving six Children behind him, three Sons, *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, *James* Duke of *York*, and *Henry* Duke of *Gloucester*, whereof the two Elder were Exiles; and three Daughters, *Mary* Princess of *Orange*, *Elizabeth* a Virgin, who not long survived him, and *Henrietta Maria* born at *Exeter*.

Charles his Eldest Son, who was then at the *Hague*, when he heard of his Father's disastrous fate, assumed the Title of King of *England*, &c. tho an Exile, and without any Kingdom to command. He was born at *St. James's* May 30. 1630. it was said a Star appeared over the place where he had been born, in broad day, which in those times was interpreted to prognosticate his

Charles
Stuart II.
assumed
the Title
of King
upon his
Father's
Death,
Jan. 30.
1648.

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happinefs, but the Ecclipse of the Sun which happened prefently after was no lefs a pre-
 fage of his future Calamities. There was
 little remarkable in him, or concerning him,
 till the year 1639, when the unhappy dif-
 after of breaking his Arm befell him; and
 that not long after he was afflicted with a
 violent Feaver, accompanied with a little of
 the Jaundice; but having at length reco-
 vered his perfect health, and the fatal dif-
 ferences begun long before, but now
 daily increafing between the King his
 Father and the People, he accompanied
 him into the North of *England*; where
 he was a Spectator of that difmall
 Cloud, which tho fmall at its firft gather-
 ing, yet was pregnant with that dreadful
 ftorm, which in a fhort time fpread it felf,
 over him, his Father, and three Nations:
 For going to take poffeffion of *Hull*, as they
 thought, they were by Sir *John Hotham*
 denied Entrance, and forced to wait feve-
 ral hours at the Gate all in vain. From this
 time forward the War increafing between
 the King and Parliament, he was firft fpe-
 ctator of that fuccefslefs Battle to his Fa-
 ther's Arms at *Edgehill*, ftaid fome time af-
 ter at *Oxford*; From thence returning to
 the Field, and the King's forces in the Weft,
 under the command of the Lord *Hopton*, of
 which the Prince was nominally General,
 being routed by General *Fairfax*, he was
 neceffitated to retire to the Ifle of *Scilly*,
 and from thence betook himfelf into *France*:

To

To whom his Father, now depriv'd of Command him self, sent a Commission of Generalissimo of those few Royalists that survived the late unhappy overthrows, and this brought him to the Isle of *Guernsey*; where he possess himself of some Vessels that lay there, and having joyned them to those he had brought with him out of *France*, he sailed from thence into the *Downs*, where he seized several rich Merchant-Ships, and expected some Land-forces from *Holland*, raised by the Prince of *Orange* for his Service. But alas, he was as unfortunate now in his Warlike attempts, as his Father had been before, and was still in his Treaties of Peace; for *Foyr* and *Langborn*, who made a rising in *Wales* were soon beaten, so were the *Surry*, *Essex* and *Kentish* Forces, without any reinforcements from him as was designed; and when he Landed some forces for the relief of *Deal-Castle*, they were vanquished almost as soon as Landed. This with the taking of *Colchester* by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, sent him back again to his Sister the Princess of *Orange* to the *Hague*. Here it was that he was first Entertained with the horrible news of his Father's Tragical death, and then saluted by the name of King, but a forlorn Man, and without any Subjects to govern; for now the Rump Parliament ruled the Roast in *England*, and had assumed to themselves the Supream power of the Nation, by the name and title of the Commonwealth of

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England ; but this procedure of theirs did not relish well with the *Scotch* Covenanters, and especially now they found, that those Persons in the *English* Parliament, that had been most forward in establishing the Solemn League and Covenant between both Nations, were not only laid aside, but clapt up into nasty PRISONS. Wherefore being willing to lay hold on any Twig ; the *Scots* resolve not to put up the supposed injury tamely, but to try their Fortune with the *Rump* by Arms, and to that end agree to invite the King over to take Possession of his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, but yet tye him so by vertue of the Treaty with him, to take their Solemn League and Covenant, as a Testimony of his sorrow for his Father's Sins, and to banish all those out of his Court who would not take the Covenant, or bare Arms for his Father. But they could not have found a Plant (as Mr. Coke observes) more unlikely to produce the Fruit of Repentance or to establish Presbytery than himself ; however, over Shooes over Boots, prepare he does to waft himself over for *Scotland*. To be a King in fact, he desired above all other things, and in June 1650, landed at the *Spey* in the North, having scaped a scouring, for some of the *Rump* Ships lay in wait for him as he passed the Sea, and narrowly mist him. In some time after he was solemnly Crowned at *Scone*, but alas it was no long-

long-liv'd Dignity, and he had but little Joy of his Crown; for *Cromwel* had entred *Scotland* with the English Army, and having beaten the *Scots* in several smaller Rencounters, did at last upon the 8 of *September* utterly overthrow the much more numerous *Kirk* Army at *Dunbar*, commanded by old General *Lesley*, killing 3000 of them in the Battle and pursuit, and taking 9000 Prisoners with all their Baggage and Ammunition, with above 200 Colours. To augment these Miseries, the King who was very squeamish in Religion, and could not submit to the rigid discipline of the *Kirk*, runs from *Scone* towards the High-lands, after whom ran *Montgomery*, promising, if he would return, the *Kirk* would remit part of the Discipline, and so he came to *St. John's Town*: But here was no lasting Tranquillity for him, for tho' in this time he raised a very numerous Army, yet the *Kirkmen* being beaten at *Dunbar* as aforesaid by the *English*, began to rail bitterly against those who had called the King in too hastily, before he had given true signs of Repentance, and they assumed the Kingly Authority so far, as to make such Generals of the *Kirk* Army as they thought fit. But *Cromwel* in the mean time prevails in his Conquests, and tho' *Scotland* were a cold Climate yet he made it too hot for the King and his Army to hold long there, and therefore he slips

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with them to *England* by the way of *Carlisle*, but was followed close at the heels by *Lambert* and *Harrison*, and soon after by *Cromwel* himself with the main Army. But he arrived at *Worcester* City with little opposition, and there *Cromwel* came up with him, where they joyned Battle, but as all his attempts before in his Fathers Cause had proved succesless, he met with no better Fortune now he fought in his own Cause, nor indeed hardly ever did in all his Life-time by Arms; for here his Army was utterly Routed by *Cromwel*, (that very day twelve Month, he had beaten the Scots at *Dunbar*) 3550 whereof were killed with Duke *Hamilton*, and General *Forbes* and 5000 taken Prisoners, of which number were the Earls of *Rothes*, *Kanworth* and *Kelly*, the Lords *Sinclae*r, and *Montgomery*, General of the Ordinance; and soon after *David Lesley*, who fought not or but little in the Battle, was Routed by Colonel *Lilburn*, and together with *Lauderdale*, the Lords *Kenmoure* and *Middleton* taken Prisoners.

The poor King seeing all now irrecoverably lost, about six in the Evening marched out at *St Martin's* Gate, leaving all that was valuable but his Life behind him, as a prey to the Enemy; and being come to a place called *Barbon-Bridge*, he consults with the few followers he had with him, what to do, among whom it was resolved he should endeavour to get back into

into *Scotland*, and one *Walker*, who belonged to the *Lord Talbots Troop* was made choise of to be his Guide Northward: But *Walker* being at a loss when he came to *Kinver-Heath* and not knowing which way to go, the King consulted with the Lords yet about him, whither he might repair with most safety to take a few hours rest, in regard he found himself quite worn out and spent; whereupon the Earl of *Derby* advised him to go to *Boscobel*, where in his Flight from *Wiggan* to *Worcester*, he met with a trusty Person, and where there was great convenience of Concealment. This being agreed to, *Mr. Gifford* who knew the way best, was appointed to conduct him thither; but he proposing to carry him first to *White-Ladies*, a house about half a mile from *Boscobel*, where he might repose himself a while, and then take farther Resolutions, this was consented to, and thither they immediately repaired, and were readily entertained by *George Pendrel* the youngest of the five Brethren. By this time the King found himself extream hungry and very much tired with his long and hasty march, and here it was that he rubbed his hands and face with the soot of the Chimney, had the locks of his hair disorderly cut off, and was stripped of his blew Ribbon, buff Coat and other Princely Ornaments, which to prevent a discovery were buried under Ground, and his Case

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now was not imparallell to his Great Ancestor *Robert Bruce* King of *Scotland*, who for fear of *Edward I.* King of *England*, was forced to sculk in the High-Lands, and there to live for a time more like a Brute Beast then a Man, much less a Prince, as we have noted towards the beginning of this History. The Kings fine Shirt was also exchanged for a course Canvass one borrowed of one *Martin*, and a suit of Cloaths answerable to it, of *Richard Pendrells* put on by him; and then he assumes the name and imployment of a Woodman, and so with *Richard*, with a Bill in his hand he went into the Wood, while the other Brothers went out to scout. It was not above an hour after his going into the Wood before a Troop of the Parliaments Horse came to *White-Ladies* to look after him; But being told by the Towns-men that a Party of Horse had been there about three hours before, but hasted away, they made no stay but went upon the pursuit; which being told to the King he would not adventure to come into the house out of the Wood all day, where he was miserably wet with the heavy Rain that fell, and where about noon *Richard's* Sister brought him a mess of Milk, mixt with Eggs and Sugar, in a black earthen Dish, and the King guessing it to be Milk and Apples, said he loved it very well. In the Evening he left the Wood, and with the brothers and *Francis*

Yates

Tates their Brother-in-law went to *Richard Pendrell's* House, under the name of one *William Jones* a Wood-Cutter, newly come thither for Work, where he had Bacon and Eggs for supper. When he had refresh'd himself a little, he departed that night to Mr. *Wolfs* at *Madeley* with *Richard* only in his Company, the rest of the brethren taking their leave of him; and *Tates* supposing he wanted Money offered him thirty Shillings, which was all he had, of which the King took only Ten. As they Journyed on towards the foresaid place he met with an odd encounter, which put them into no small fright at a place called *Evelling-Mill*; for the Miller, who, as it afterward appear'd, was a Royalist, had then in his House, some Considerable Persons of the Kings Army, that had sheltered themselves there in their Flight from *Worcester*, and being alarmed by *Richard's* suffering a gate to clap, through which he passed, and boldly demanding who was there; *Richard* fearing he had pursued them, quited the way in great hast, and waded through a little Brook, and the King thereupon doing the like, followed him only by the ratling of his leathern Breeches, by which means they escaped the Miller, who not knowing but they were Enemies, was as glad to be rid of them, as they were to shun him.

When they came to Mr. *Wolf's* House, the Family was a bed, but upon *Richard's* knocking

knocking, the Daughter came to the door and they were admitted in; and some Refreshment the King had here, but the fear of his Enemies would not let him rest in this House, and so he retired to an adjacent Barn as to a place less lyable to the danger of a surprize. During his stay there, he consulted with Mr. *Wolf* about his going into *Wales*, but finding upon enquiry the strict guard that was kept every where, he was advised to retire to *Boscobel* house, as the most retired place in all those parts, which he did the night following; But in the mean time his Hands and Face not appearing sufficiently discoloured, *Wolf* bathed them in a decoction of Walnut leaves, as the readiest expedient for that purpose. When *Richard* and he came to *Boscobel*, which was about three next morning, the King was left in the Wood, while *Richard* went in to see if there were any Soldiers there, and finding none but Collonel *Careless*, who was fled thither from *Worcester* Fight for shelter, he tells him of the Kings arrival, who went immediately out to conduct him in; where he fed heartily on Coarse Bread and Cheese, and a Possit, which as a rarity was made by *William Pendrell's* Wife, of thin Milk and small Beer; and after Supper, his feet being extream dirty and very much gall'd with travelling, he was forced to wash them, and for want of Shooes to wear, whilst his own were dried, they were necessitated to put hot embers into them, to dry them a little whilst

whilst his feet were a washing. After the King had refrest himself, he was advised by the Collonel to retire to the Wood again as the safest place, where he ascended together with the Collonel into an Oak, thence-forward called the *Royal-Oak*, where he stayd most part of the day; but in the Evening he returned back into the House, and was conducted by *William* to the same place where the Earl of *Derby* had formerly been secured, which he liked so well, that he resolved during his stay there to trust to it only, and to go no more into the Oak.

But one of the *Pendrels* going on the *Saturday* following to *Shesfnall*, he met with one of the Parliament Colonels, who was in search for the King, and who coming to understand where *Pendrell* lived, examined him strictly about it, laying before him the reward of a Thousand Pounds, if he made a Discovery, and also the Penalty of Concealing the King, which was Death without Mercy; all which *Pendrell*, upon his return at Night, acquainted the King with, whereat he was not a little terrified. But the Collonel and *Pendrell*, upon their Assurance of his Safety, did a little comfort him; and that night the King Supped upon no common dainty, which was a dish of Chickens, prepared by Dame *Joan* (as he called her) *Richard's* Wife: After Supper, when a little Bed was put into the Secret place where the King was to lye, the Collonel asked him, What he would please to

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to have for Dinner next day being *Sunday*; He told him, he could wish he had a little Mutton; but this they found hard to come by, in that it was not advisable for to have any bought in the Market, because *Pendrell's* Neighbours knew he was not used to provide any such Meat for his own eating. But the Collonel next Morning early would go to *Stanton's* Sheep-Coat, and having chosen out a good Sheep, stuck him with his Dagger, and order'd *William Pendrell* to carry him home; where being flead and quarter'd, and a Leg brought to the King, he called for a Knife and a Trenchard, and having cut some of it into Collops, called for a Frying-pan, and Cooked some of them himself; the Collonel in the mean time, by making the Fire, and turning the Collops in the Pan, officiating as Under-Cook. But being inform'd by *John Pendrell*, that the Lord *Wilmot* was at Mr. *Whitegraves* at *Mosle*, he sent *John* thither to let him know he was safe, and would be there that Night; but when *John* came, he found *Wilmot* was gone to *Bentley*; however he acquainted Mr. *Whitegrave* and Mr. *Huddleston* that the King was at *Escobell*, where he had but very ill Accommodation. Whereupon they went with him to *Bentley*, and the Lord *Wilmot* sent *John* back to acquaint the King with his resolution to meet Him that Night about Twelve or One of the Clock, in a little Grove of Trees, not far from *Whitegraves*; to which
end

end the King prepared to set forth : But having not yet recover'd his late foot Journey to *Madley*, it was concluded he should Ride upon *Humphrey's* Mill-horse, a sorry Jade, and a Saddle with other Accoutrements answerable, and was conducted thither by the Five Brothers, four whereof were only Scouts, while the fifth attended upon His Person. When they were come to *Penford-Mill*, his Guides desir'd him to alight, and walk the remainder of the way on foot, which was about two Miles, by reason the Foot-way was the safest: Whereupon *Humphrey* and *George* returning with the Horse, the rest waited on him to his Journeys end, where, when they were arriv'd, the King was conducted by *Huddleston* to *Whitegrave's* House; the Lord *Wilmot* being gone thither before him, in regard he staid somewhat longer then his time; where, having viewed the Secret Place, wherein he was to be conceal'd, he went into *Wilmot's* Chamber, and sitting down upon the Bed-side, his Nose fell a Bleeding, which made him pluck out of his pocket an Handkerchief, which was both very coarse and dirty, but suitable to the rest of his Apparel: For he wore a Leathern Doublet, a pair of Green Breeches, and a Jump Coat of the same, a pair of his own Stockins, with their Tops cut off, because they were Embroyder'd, a pair of Shooes cut and slash'd to give ease to his Feet, an old gray greasy Hat, without a Lining

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ning ; his Face and Hands being answerable thereunto, made of a rusty Complexion, by the help of the Walnut-leaves. *Huddleston* observing that his Shirt, which was very coarse, was troublesome to him, and hinder'd him to rest, he furnish'd him with a better ; and plucking off his Shooes and Stockings, and carefully drying his Feet, he found that some body had innocently put White Paper betwixt his Feet and his Stockings, which, with his Travelling on Foot from *Penford-Mill* to the House, was so roll'd together, that it served rather to increase, than assuage the former foreness of his Feet. But not thinking it convenient to tarry there long, he sent *John Pendrel* to *Collonel Lane* to *Bentley*, to desire him to convey the Lord *Wilmot's* Horses thither that Night, about 12 of the Clock, in order to his putting in execution the Resolution he had taken, of going Westward, under the Protection of a Pass Mrs. *Jane Lane* had procured for her Self and her Man to *Bristol*, supposing, that the Enemy would, in all probability, Pursue him Northward, without entertaining any suspicion of his going into the West. *Lane* brought the Horses according to Order, and so convey'd the King to his House at *Bentley*, from whence, in pursuance to his Resolutions, he Rid before Mrs. *Lane* to *Bristol*, *Wilmot* attending him at a distance ; but finding himself somewhat incommoded with his Cloak, he complained to his supposed Mistress,

Mistress, that it wearied him ; which made her desire Mr. *Lastell* her Father, who also Rode along with them, to carry it for him. But they had not Rid far, before she met with her Brother-in-Law, who ask'd her, If her Father must carry her Man's Cloak ; to which she made Answer, That it was so big, that it often endanger'd the throwing her down, else she would not have been so uncivil. But they were no sooner got out of this danger, then they fell into a far greater ; for being to pass through a Town, where a Troop of the Enemies Horse was drawn up, as if on purpose to oppose their passage, the King was put into an horrible Fright ; but the Captain thinking no otherwise of them then honest Travellers, proved very Civil, and Commanded his Troop to open to the Right and Left, and permitted them quietly to pass forward ; being come to a Gentleman's House at *Leigh*, he met with a double Rencounter, one whereof, tho' he were surrounded with so many Misfortunes, made him Smile at the conceit of it, as much as the other Terrified him with the Apprehensions of the Danger he might be in : Being there left in the Kitching, under the Notion of a Serving-Man, the Maid happening to enter into some Discourse with him, enquired where he was Born ? What Trade he was ? How long he had lived with Mrs. *Lane* ? and several other the like Questions suitable to a Kitching Wenches Curiosity ; to which he made

A a a

Answer,

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Answer, He was Born at *Brumingham*, was a Nailor's Son, and had lived with Mrs. *Lane* about a Twelve Month. But the Jack being down, she desired him to wind it up; He being unskilful therein, went the wrong way to work, and was like to have spoiled the Jack; whereupon the Maid highly offended, vented her Passion in *Bil-lingsgate*-Language against him, asking him, Where he was Bred? and saying he was the most Ignorant Fellow she ever saw in her life, and much more to the same purpose, which made him withdraw out of the Room Smilingly: But the King finding the Gentleman's House to be a place of great resort, to prevent a discovery, feigned himself sick of an Ague, and so kept his Chamber all day, and came down only at nights, and it being the Nature of that Distemper to occasion Thirst, that his presence might seem real, he sometimes desired the Butler to give him a Glass of Wine; who not only Gratified him therein, but did one Evening, when he found him below, invite him into the Cellar, and therefore'd him to drink two or three Healths, one to His Majesty, another to His Mother, &c. but at length, by some thing he discover'd in him, he began to suspect him to be the King, notwithstanding his disguise; and thereupon falling on his knees, begged his Pardon, and protested he would be faithful to him in whatever he should command him, of which (tho' he was terribly

ribly surpriz'd) he took little or no notice ; but having drank up his Wine went his way : Whereupon the Butler's suspition increasing, he went up and asked Mr. *Lastel*, How long he had had that Servant ? who being angry at the Butler's Inquisitiveness, demanded of him the Reason of it ? upon which the Butler whisper'd him in the Ear, and told him, He believed him to be the King.

This Passage made the King very uneasy, and therefore he resolved to hasten his going to Sea as soon as possible ; but tho' there lay a little Bark there, that was looked upon very fit for the purpose, yet the Master could not be prevail'd upon to Transport a Single Person, which did not a little perplex him, and made him take another resolution of going farther Westward, where he was concealed at a Gentleman's House about eight or ten days, in which time Preparation was made for his Passage into *France*. But coming to the place where the Vessel was provided, he chanced to Dine with a Collonel of the Parliaments Army ; and therefore fearing his Embarking singly might work some suspition in him, he chose rather to defer it, and so returned to the place whence he came, and from thence, after three weeks longer concealment, was conveyed through By-ways, to a Gentleman's House in *Sussex* ; where having concealed himself till the Search for him was pretty well

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over, he was, at last, provided of a small Ship, that took Him in at *Shoreham*, a little Creeke in that County, and set him on Shore near *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, from whence he went to *Diep*, and so to the *French* Court, and from whence he stirred up the *Dutch*, by the means of his Sister the Princess of *Orange*, to make War upon the *Rump* in his Favour. But all that he got by it was, an entire disappointment of his hopes that way, and they to be so beaten, as they were never before nor after by the *English* Fleet. *Oliver Cromwell* sometime after assuming the Supream Power by the Title of Protector, he and *Mazarine* grew so gracious one with another, that *France* began now to be too hot to hold King *Charles*; so as, he was necessitated to retire thence to the Elector of *Cologne*, and afterwards into the *Spanish* Netherlands; where he ordered the *English*, *Scots*, and *Irish*, in those parts, which amounted to between four and five thousand Men to joyn the *Spaniards* to attempt the relief of *Dunkirk*, then besieged by the *French* and *English*. But herein he was as fatal in his Arms as he had been all along before; for the *Spanish* Army were utterly routed, and this defeat broke his whole design, so that he never after made use of Arms to recover his Inheritance, but retired to *Bruges*; where he stay'd to see the event of things. The death of *Oliver Cromwell*, together with the many changes of Government that happened

pened thereupon in *England*, gave new life to his hope, and made him go in person to the *Pyrenaean* Treaty to promote his Interest; from whence he returned through *France* to *Bruxells*. But coming to understand that Sir *George Booth*, and the *Che-shire* Men were supprest by *Lambert*, it did not a little damp his hopes, and made him return again to *Bruxells*, from about *St. Malo's*, where he privately lay in readines to take Shipping for *England*, upon the first good event of Sir *George* and others undertakings for him. But his Crown was not to be recovered by War; how then came he to be restored? A grand step towards it was the Rump Parliament's Jealousie of *Monk*, and his Jealousie of them again; But what contributed most to it was the unsetled state of the Nation, under the many Vicissitudes of Government that had been introduced since the death of the King his Father, which made the People very uneasie, and long for a Settlement upon any terms; and therefore the Convention when they met in order to it on *April 25. 1660.* did hand overhead without any Preliminaries of asserting the Rights and Liberties of the *English*, so manifestly violated by his Father and Grandfather, restore him without any contradiction; which did not a little contribute to the succeeding uneasiness of his Reign, as well as the Nations trouble. But restored he was, as aforesaid; and on *May 25.*

Charles Stuart II.
Restored to his Dominions,
An. 1650.

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following Landed at *Dover*, and was received every where with utmost Demonstrations of Joy. About *October* following came over the Queen-Mother, seemingly to Treat about a Marriage between *Mounsieur* of *France* and her fair Daughter *Henrietta Maria*; But it's like the Marriage between the King and the Infanta of *Portugal* was no less designed, which was after Consummated, and wherein he was as unhappy in respect to Procreation by her, as he was fruitless in what ground soever else he sowed his seed, which he was Prodigal enough of. But there was yet somewhat else of far more dangerous consequence to poor *England*, and more dishonourable to the King, that brought the Queen-Mother over, and that was the Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French*, whose Agent she was in that fine spot of work. If the King's Arms, whilst an Exile, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, were so unsuccessful in the relief of *Dunkirk*, then Besieged by the joint force of *English* and *French*; he was much more unhappy in the Sale of it afterward for 400000 *l.* (whereof one moiety was detained for the Portion of *Henrietta Maria* his Sister) and not to the *Spaniards*, who were kind to him in his adverse Fortunes, and had most right to it; but to the *French*, who had done all they could by their Embassador *Bourdeaux* to hinder his Restoration, and on whose side the Ballance then lay; which it had been his business to have kept even as his Predecessors

cessors the Kings of *England* were wont to do, and particularly *Henry 8.* and *Queen Elizabeth*: This action I think was as unparallel'd as any can be found in our *English Annals*. It was indeed a Charge against *Mary Queen of Scots*, that she would have transferred her Right of Succession to the *English Crown* to the then King of *Spain Philip 2.* but that if true, was giving away what was not in her power to dispose of; and much such another Donation as that of the Pope's to the Emperor *Charles*, of the Kingdom of *Mexico*, tho with a different fate to both Nations; but here was neither Donation, force, nor any visible necessity, but a voluntary act in King *Charles* to the inestimable damage of *England*, as has been but too sensibly felt to this very day.

You must note that the gazing World stood a little while amazed at the strange Revolution in *England* by the King's easie and pacifick Restoration, and with what transports of Joy he was received by the Nation, then in a most Warlike posture, and as much dreaded by our Neighbours, and particularly by the *French*, who had formed designs for an Universal Monarchy: But now they were put to a stand to see what such a mighty power, and apparently lasting Settlement in *England* would produce; yet finding at length that here all thoughts of Military glory and extention of Dominion seemed wholly to be laid aside, and all the severity of the preceding

times, daily degenerate to the Luxuries of an Effeminate Reign ; they began to reassume their former design, and to prosecute the foundation Cardinal *Richlieu* had laid for them. But that they might make sure work on't, and see that they made a true judgment of the *English* affairs, they resolved to try such an Experiment as would thoroughly decide the matter, and what must that be but overtures for the buying of *Dunkirk* ; which succeeding as aforesaid, according to their wishes, raised their hopes higher than ever of attaining their ends. And because they knew well enough that the *English* were a powerful People by Sea, and that while they retained the Sovereignty of it, it would be a hard rub in their way, they joyn their strength with the *Dutch* to dispute the Dominion of it with us ; but the *Dutch* were as unfortunate in their Alliance in the first *Dutch* War, as the *English* were in the second, when they joyned with them against the *Dutch* ; for excepting the time that the *English* Fleet was divided in the first War, and that base business of burning the Ships at *Chatham*, so much to the King and Nations dishonour ; the *Dutch* came by the worst of it in all the rest of the Engagements ; and it was much the same luck the *English* had by their Conjunction in the second War, the *French* both times standing aloof as looking on, and no doubt laughing in their sleeves, to see the two most Potent Nations

ons in the World by Sea, weaken and destroy one anothe whilst they in the mean time not only saved their own stake, but learned how to fight, and doubted not but in time to run away with the prey from both of them.

The People of *England* were no more satisfied before with their imaginary happiness in the King's Restoration; but they were now, upon the ill management of Affairs, the much Treasure that had been spent to so little purpose, and more especially upon our Conjunction with the *French*, to the manifest hazard of the Protestant Religion, as well as the Civil Rights of *Europe*, as much uneasy and suspicious of the Court-proceedings: And it did not a little incense them that the *French* made such a Progress in *Flanders*, and got all by Land, while we got nothing but Blows at Sea; and therefore the House of Commons on the 31. of *October* 1673. Voted that considering the present State of the Nation, they would not take into further Consideration, any Aids or Charges upon the Subject, except it did appear that the obstinacy of the *Dutch* did render it necessary, nor before the Kingdom should be effectually secured from Popery and Popish Counsels, and other Grievances redressed: which procedure thunder-struck the King and his Frenchified Council, so as that a Peace with the *Dutch* was quickly huddled up; and so he then set up for a Mediator
of

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of Peace between the rest, and the Treaty spun out to a very great length at *Nimeguen*; and was at last concluded after some years Conferences without King *Charles* consent by *Beverning* the *Dutch* Agent; which spared him a labour of entring into an actual War with *France*, as the Parliament would have had him; and to which he was as unwilling as he had been before forward in his engaging against the *Dutch*, a Protestant State. The remainder of his succeeding Reign was as uneasie to himself and to the Nation, upon the account first of the Popish Plot, the many endeavours to stifle it, the Bill of Exclusion, and the Division of the Nation into *Whig* and *Torry* hereupon; then that called the *Presbyterian* Plot, both Plots they said against his life, (which if true, he was the more unhappy) for which last the Noble Lord *Russel* suffered, and the Great Earl of *Essex* had his Throat Barbarously cut in the Tower of *London* the King's Prison, and King *Charles* had the unhappiness to be there that day, where he had not been hardly in twenty years before. And last of all the forfeiture and seizure of Charters (which tho carried on with great fury in his Reign, that thereby he might have a Parliament of his own choosing, as *Cromwell* had, and so do what he pleased) yet he did not live to compleat his designs.

Tho' the Censures upon the manner of his Death are various, yet most are agreed
(says

(says the Author of the Introduction to King *Charles II. Character*) there was some fraud in it, some ascribing it to the intregues of *France*, who as they Undid his Father by a Wife, Ruined the Son by a Mistress; and therefore alleadge that the *French* King being weary of feeding him with Pensions, and dreading his natural Parts, if upon any disgust he should come to unite with his Parliaments against *France*; he thought it his Interest to take him off, and make way for a Successor, who as he made open profession of his own Religion, would be more pliable to his dictates: Then as touching the method of effecting it, they say, that the Dutcheß of *P.* who bewitched him with her Amours, and had not only drained the substance of his Body, but likewise the substance of his Purse; either of which being once accomplished, the Love of a *St——et* to her Paramour vanishes, so that having a mind to change Gallants, or seeing no more hopes of former advantages, she gave him such Provocatives as made him act beyond his natural Strength, and threw him into those Apoplectick Fits which carryed him off: There are others who ascribe his Death to the Romish Faction, who being angry at his having so often deceived them, and impatient till they came to a tryal of skill for establishing their Religion, while *Lewis XIV.* was in the height of his Power and Glory, did therefore administer the fatal Dose,

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Dose, which sent King *Charles II.* a Packing, and brought his Brother to the Throne, under whose auspicious Conduct, they made no question of restoring the Church of *Rome* to the full possession of all she had formerly enjoy'd in these three Kingdoms.

It's certain there were some accidents fell out some time before the King's Death, that raised some Jealousy in the breast of the Romanists; who thought by that, he would, upon the presenting of the first opportunity face about, as they found by experience he had more then once done, and fall in with the Interest of a Party, he now for some years, by their instigation had been endeavouring to destroy and root out of the World: And what rendred their suspitions of him the more incurable, was, that a Pamphlet having been spread abroad, a little before *Christmas*, 1684. setting forth, that the Earl of *Essex* had not cut his own Throat, but had been Murdered by Russians set on by the Papists, &c. the King upon the hearing of it, should say, *Well, I am resolved to examine Essex's Cause once more.* And that he might meet with no obstruction in the way, he ordered the Duke his Brother to prepare to go for *Scotland*; which the other, whether smelling the design, or that the train to blow the King up was already layd by him, absolutely refused to do: this occasioned high words between them; insomuch that the late *M. of H.* who was well known to be a great

great favourite, coming on the *Sunday* before the King Dyed to wait upon him after Evening Service, he found him in his Closet alone under great concern of Mind, puffing after a more then ordinary rate, and looking pensive with his Face towards the ground, which the *M.* observing, made him stand still, till the King looking up, asked hastily, *How now my Lord; How do you do?* to which the *M.* answering, the better to see his Majesty well, and so forth; the King returned again to his former posture; but at length, broke forth into these Words; *My Lord will you be ingenious with me, and answer me one question?* to which the Marquesse replying, *he would if he could.* Then (said the King) *I charge you upon your Allegiance to tell me how I stand affected with the People of England:* The *M.* after some pause answered, Sir, you have been always ranked among the mercifull and Clement Princes, and have given evident Testimonies of your being so upon various occasions; but I must tell your Majesty, that of late your Government has been somewhat uneasy to your People: Well, said the King, one thing I am resolved on, I'll once more throw my self upon the People of England, and to that end will go this week into the City, and I'll call a Parliament at the Guild-Hall: the *M.* was somewhat surprized at these words, and said; Sir, *If that be your Resolution, I pray God to bless it; but let me beg of your Majesty never to let*
it

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it go out of your own Breast any further, till you put it in Execution: Which when the King had promised to do, they parted. The King that night supped at P. Lodgings; where he seemed to be very merry, and in the close drunk a Dish of Chocolate, prepared by a Wise Lady, of which he complained again and again that it tasted hotter than ordinary; but he sipped it off, and thence went to his Rest. Next morning which was *Munday* he was taken very Ill; which, no doubt, was the effect of the last nights Entertainment, however they might call his Distemper; and so continued till the *Fryday* following in extream Misery and Anguish, when he dyed, most People suspecting he had foul Play: And many that saw him during his Illness believing it to be so, and particularly (says the Author of his Character) *the most knowing and deserving of his Physitians Doctor Short, did not only believe him Poysoned, but thought himself so too, not long after, for having declared his opinion, a little too boldly in the case.* And as the manner and contrivance of this King's Death was the work of Darkness, so were his Funeral Obsequies; for never any King, who dyed posselt of a Crown, was so obscurely and contemptibly Buryed, being hurried in the dead of the Night to his Grave, as if his Corps had been to be arrested for Debt, and not so much as the Blew-Coat Boys to attend it.

King

King *Charles* was no sooner gone, but *James Duke of York*, his only surviving Brother, ascends the *English Throne* by the style and Title of *James II.* And made open Profession immediately of the *Popish Religion*, for which some in his Brother's Reign were severely punished for but saying he was such, or so inclined; and not only so, but ordered his Brothers Dying in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and before his Death his receiving his *Viaticum* and other Ceremonies of that Church, and attested by Father *Huddleston*, to be printed, and also the Papers taken out of the King's *strong Box*, shewing; That however, he outwardly appeared otherwise in his Life, yet in his Heart he was sincerely a true *Roman Catholick*. He made profession in his Speech to the Council the day of his Brother's Death, that he would preserve the Church and State of *England* as by Law Established, and as he would never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any Man's Property; but how ill he conformed himself hereunto, is but too manifestly known to all the World. For the very first Week he took both the Customs and the Excise granted only for his Brothers Life, before they were given him by Parliament; And for the Church, I think no Man so Audacious as to deny the design of his whole, tho' blessed be God, short Reign,

James Stuart II.
came to
the Crown
February
6. 1684
5.

was

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was to overthrow it by the introduction of his own Monkish Religion in the room of it: But if he was unhappy first in making such a Promise of adhering to both Church and State as then Established, contrary, no doubt, to the designs he had framed before of Ruining them; he was much more so in the methods he took to bring his ends about, which Terminated at last in a fatal Abdication, yet so as that he remains to this day naturally alive to be a living Monument and confessor of his own egregious folly: And the loss of the Button of his Scepter that day he was Crowned, which, as far as I could hear, was never found, was I remember then, Interpreted by some, as a presage of no lasting connection between him and the Nation.

His petty success against the D. of *Monmouth* and his Adherents did not a little elate his spirits, which gave him an opportunity to keep a standing Army, and put such Officers into it as were of his own stamp; and so being backt with this Armed Power, he proceeds bare-fac'd to dispence with the Laws by granting Liberty of Conscience to all that dissented from the Church of *England*; thinking hereby, and by a timely regulating of Corporations to gain such a Parliament as would quite repeal them. And that in the mean time he might curb the Church and the Universities, he puts his High Commission upon their

their Backs, thinking by it to worry them into a compliance. And because my Lord of London would not comply with his Arbitrary Proceedings, Jeffery's with this Popish Ball (I mean) the High Commission, roared him into a Suspension. And because the Fellows of *Magdalen-Colledge* would not (contrary to their Statutes and Oaths) choose a President to the King's mind, he first entertained them with a Dish of *Billingsgate*, and then by virtue of the same Commission, sent them a Grazing into the Countries, to make room for his own Popish Seminaries, and Cut-throat Jesuits. But among all the actions of this King's Diminutive reign, That of sending the Bishops to the *Tower*, (not for refusing to take care to have the Declaration of Indulgence read in their respective Diocesses) but for Petitioning of him in a regular and dutiful manner, wherein they gave their Reasons why they could not comply with his order, together with an Introduction of a Prince of *Wales* into the World, as a new Miracle to the Legend, the next day after their Commitment; was the rashest, most inconsiderate and madeft thing he could be guilty of. Surely when he did this, he wanted some body to pray over the Poets wish for him :

— *Dii te damasippe Deaque*

Donent Tonfore. —

For it was most apparent by the Universal Joy expressed throughout the Nation at their Acquittment, how they resented their

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Commitment and Trial: And if the King did before decline in the affection of the People day by day; I may truly say, this was a concluding act, and lost him *England*. For now all the Eyes of the People are turned from him towards *Holland*, where the Prince of *Orange* was Arming to come to their relief. The King would not at first believe that the vast Preparations in *Holland* concerned him, tho the *French* King had given him notice of them the 26. of *August* before; but being at length convinced by the States *Manifesto* of the truth of the matter, he undid in one day all that he had been doing since his first coming to the Crown; as dissolving his Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs, restoring the City of *London* to all its Ancient Franchises and Charters, as fully as before the *Quo Warranto*, and giving order for the resetting the Expelled Fellows of *Maudlin* Colledge, in their places again: He made also great Preparations both by Sea and Land for to defend himself; but tho he be naturally still alive, and he above knows, who knows all things, what his end may be; yet all these Precautions and windings against the grain, were so far from preventing, that they did now but concur to precipitate his Civil death, which we shall now briefly relate unto you.

The Prince of *Orange* having on *November* the Fifth Landed his Army in *Torbay*, he presently Published his Declaration, setting forth the Cause of his coming. Up-

on which some of the Nobility and Gentry joyned him, and others made Preparations in the remoter parts to declare for him. King *James* upon the News of the Princes Landing, ordered his Army to march Westward with a resolution to follow in Person; But before he went, he thought it requisite to provide for the safety of his darling Prince of *Wales*, whom the Prince of *Orange* in his *Manifesto* spread about the Kingdom some days before, declared upon just and visible grounds, that both himself and all the Good People of *England* did vehemently suspect not to be born of the Queen's Body. Wherefore several Persons were summoned (who were present at the pretended birth) to declare the truth upon Oath, and to have the same registred in *Chancery*; but the King not daring to trust to the validity of these Affidavits, which the Nation had all the reason in the world to suspect, he ordered the Yonker to be sent away with a strong Guard to *Portsmouth*, that if things went ill he should be convey'd over into *France*.

In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* prospered in his Army, and advanced as far as *Exeter*, and was joyned among multitudes of others that flocked in to him daily out of the adjacent Countries, by the Lord *Cornbury* with Three Regiments along with him, which he carried off from the King's Army. About this time the Prince received also intelligence that the Lord *Delamere* had declared for him in

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Cheſhire. King *James* being informed of all theſe things, was horribly diſmayed, and uncertain whether he ſhould go to the Army or no : However at length he took up a reſolution of going to *Salisbury*, where he began to bleed violently at the Noſe, which together with the many ill adventures that beſell him there, as his being forſaken by his own Daughter the Princeſs *Anne*, Prince *George*, the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchill*, and many others who went over to the Prince then at *Sherborn*; all of them dangerous limbs to be loſt by him, he returned *Novemb. 26.* in the Evening to *London*; where for an accumulation of the reſt of his Misfortunes he received an Addreſs from the Fleet for a Free Parliament : So that thinking *London*, nay all *England* now too hot to hold him ; he firſt ſent his Queen and pretended Son into *France*, and quickly after followed himſelf. In order thereunto he put himſelf A-board a ſmall Smack, Commanded by one Captain *Saunders*, but was forced for ſhelter to put into *Eastſwall*, the Eaſtern part of the Iſle of *Sheppy*, in order to the taking in of Ballaſt; where the Inhabitants of *Feverſham* being abroad to pick up Jeſuits, and other ſuſpected perſons, met this Veſſel; and having ſeized it, found this wretched Prince attended only by Sir *Edward Hales*, and Mr. *Labady* therein; who not being at firſt known, were all of them but coarſly handled by the *Mobil ty*, more particularly the King himſelf, who was riſſed of what Gold
and

and Jewels he had about him, and had his Clothes rent and torn in the searching of him.

When the Lords at *London* had notice of his being at *Feversham*, they sent some Persons to attend him, to move him to return; but they had in the mean time made their application to the Prince of *Orange*, for to assist them for the Security of the Protestant Religion; and sent some of their number with Four Aldermen, and Eight Commoners to attend him at *Henley*. The King who was detained at *Feversham*, till the aforesaid Orders came from *London*, did December 15. remove to *Rocheſter*, and from thence next day being *Sunday* returned to *Whitehall*, attended once more like a King of *England*, with a Troop of Grenadiers, and three Troops of the Life-guard. But it was only Pageant greatness, for a set of Boys only followed him through the City, and made some Huzza's, but the rest of the People silently looked on: And here he found the Popish Religious houses laid as flat to the ground as his own heart was now sunk deep in his body. Upon his Arrival at *London*, and finding there no ease, he desired the Prince that he might return to *Rocheſter* again, which being granted readily, he took his final farewell of the City, and went to the foresaid place, where he staid till the 23. of *December*, when about One or Two, in the Morning, he privately withdrew, taking only Mr. *Sheldon* and *Delabady* along with him, with whom he went

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went to *Dover*, and there Embarked in a Vessel that lay ready for his Transportation to *France*; So he went out like a snuff in *England*, but still retained some glimmering light in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in the last of which he arrived in Person the *March* following. But his light in *Scotland* did not long burn, for the Convention there as well as in *England*, rejected him as the Violator of all their Rights; and *Durham* falling by the Sword the *July* following 1689, together with the Surrender of *Edenburg* Castle, and other misfortunes quite extinguished his hopes there. But in *Ireland* he had a name to live as King, till about a year after, when his Army being totally routed at the *Boyn* by our brave King *William*, he made as much haste to get over into *France*, as if he had been to go to take possession of a Crown, instead of running away from one. Various Struggles he made still to recover a Regal Life, but he prosecuted his ends by such Villanous Methods and Instruments, and more especially by setting his Vile Assassins on Work to Murder the best of Kings, and bravest of Men, our Lawful and Rightful Sovereign King *William* III. as are not to be mention'd but with utmost Horror; But through the goodness of Heaven, they have met with as little success as the Practices have been foul and Clandestine; and so we leave him to him that made him, and wish him a far greater proportion of rest and happy Tranquillity in the future World,

World, then he hath found of unrest and
disquietude here; and a much speedier
translation into that state, then the hast
himself hath made to precipitate his own
Abdicated fate.

The Abdicated Throne was filled up by
the Advancement of a Prince and Princess
to it, that *England* was n'er blest with the
like before; one in Religion, and one in
Interest and Affection with the Nation; our
King Hero-like Fighting our Battels abroad,
(and pray think it not a small thing, for
England has not enjoy'd such a Blessing
these Hundred and fifty years; and it has
scarce ever been well with us, when our
Kings did not go in and out before our
People) and our Queen, as wisely and
gently Swaying the Scepter at Home, to
the Gladning of all our Hearts; and in all
Her excellent Comportment, choosing to
Rule in the Love and Affections, rather
than the Fears of Her People. Here
we promis'd our selves a lasting Tranquili-
ty, and many happy days to come, under
the benign influence of her Reign; but
Alas, alas! our hopes quickly vanished,
our Joys faded, our Hearts failed us for
fear, and sable clouds of Despair overshad-
dowed our whole Isle, by Her unexpected,
by Her early, I say, by Her early, tho'
natural Transition from a Corruptible to
an Incorruptible Diadem: Her gain it was,
but our loss; She tho' young, yet ripe for
ineffable Joys above; And we, tho' long
inur'd.

William
of Nassaw
III. and
Mary Stu-
art II. be-
gan their
Reigns
Febr. 13.
168⁸.
9

ihur'd to Tryal; unripe for to sustain the
 loss of Her here below; And surely no
 Prince ever departed this Transitory Life;
 that was so unfeignedly lamented by his
 Subjects, as this incomparable Queen; as
 was apparent by our universal mourn-
 ful weeds without, a demonstration of
 the blackning sadness of our hearts within.
 The last she was, and incomparably the best,
 of the *Stuarts* that wore a Crown, and the
 Second of that number that went to Her
 Grave in Peace; as *Robert II.* who was the
 first of the *Stuarts* that ever was King;
 was the only other of the Kingly Race
 that did so: I know Mr. *Coke* says in
 his Character of King *Charles II.* That
 none of His Name hereafter was ever like
 to have a Stone to cover his Grave as King
 of *England*; but that I will not say, as not
 pretending to know what is laid up in the
 Womb of Futurity. But if you please, after
 all this Mournful Entertainment, I'll tell
 you a Story; "The *Lyon*, on a time, cal-
 led to the *Sheep*, and asked her, If his
 "Breath smelt? she innocently said, *Ay*;
 "which made him bite off her head for a
 "Fool: then he called to the *Wolf*, and
 "asked him, who reply'd; *No*: and his
 "head he bit off for a Flatterer; last of all
 "he put the same Question to the *Fox*;
 "but the *Fox* truly for his part desired to
 "be executed; For he had a Cold upon him,
 "and could not Smell.

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